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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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13 June 1984

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**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

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ALBANIA

RADIO-TELEVISION CHIEF REPORTS ON VISIT TO IRAN

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 4 Mar 84 pp 1, 3

[Article by Marash Hajati, director general of Radio-Television: "On Iranian Soil--Travel Notes"]

[Text] On the drowsy journey of the airplane, after we had left behind seas and rivers and passed over the snow covered mountain ranges of Asia Minor, there was unexpected applause in the long passenger cabin, which is something very unusual on a long international flight. Curiosity drove me into conversation with the passenger sitting next to me. What had happened? Not being familiar with the Persian language, we had not understood the announcement from the captain's cabin that the airplane, according to piloting regulations, had entered the air space over Iran. Therefore, Iranian soil. This had brought about the applause. Why?

We are traveling directly toward Teheran, the capital of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and, unconsciously our thoughts take us back into the ancient past of this old land, whose people provided history, science and literature with renowned personalities. While we travel, our thoughts dwell on the heroic struggle, for 10 consecutive years, of the Iranian people against the harsh oppression of the American masters and their devoted bloody servant, the Shah. This struggle which had stored within itself suffering, bitterness and scorn was crowned with the victory of the Iranian revolution which reverberated throughout the world. It is this great victory which has inspired the people of this vast land during the past 5 years; it is this victory that has strengthened the love for the soil of the fatherland and its boundaries. With good reason, they are proud of this and applaud.

From the time we boarded the plane our introductions to and conversations with real Iranian people were carried out with such hospitality, that we believed we were already in Iran, among dear and sincere friends. Thus, after 3 hours of flying, before we could feel the boredom of the journey, we were over Teheran airport, one of the largest and best known in all this region. It connects Europe with Central Asia. While the airplane was entering the runway we were still discussing among ourselves the statistics of Iranian geography. The wide space with huge desert areas cover a surface of over one and a half million square kilometers. Something a little more, if you want a comparison, than the territory of France, Germany, Italy and Spain

put together. Iran is bound by the Soviet Union, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq and Turkey. To the Southwest is the famous Persian Gulf with its renowned oil fields; to the North are the green lowlands of the Caspian Sea. Iran has a population of over 40 million people.

Our host is Iranian Radio-Television. At the airport we were met by the director general of this institution, representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Islamic Guidance and others.

Only a short time was needed to overcome the strangeness of a first meeting, afterwards everything went on as among close friends.

What interests the people of Iran most?

The people are sincere and friendly. Above all they want to introduce you to the victories they have achieved during these 5 years of the Iranian revolution, they say that everything dates from the time of the struggle against the American domination and the rule of their Pahlavi puppets, because there was no other way to talk to invaders and bloodthirsty traitors.

It is not by chance, that on the first visit to the capital our hosts took us to see the Shah's palaces. The royal family who was among the wealthiest families in the world, because of the oil pipelines, was sucking the blood, sweat and labor of the poor people of Iran. The Shah's palaces located on the northern side of the capital were drowned in fabled luxury. Every member of the family had his own residence.

For the queen mother there was a 3 story palace with many rooms and reception halls, furnished with the famous Persian rugs, some 100 meters square in size. Serving sets and fixtures were all covered with gold. The 90-year-old lady, who was sick, was visited 15 times a day by the most prominent doctors. The irony of that wealth and luxury was that the king's mother, who could neither read nor write, had in her palace a large library. Furthermore, she had a piano and music room even though she could not recognize a musical note.

Of the 18 palaces owned by the royal family in Teheran, the Shah's own palace has to be mentioned. Everything sparkled with gold, and on the occasion of the 2500th anniversary of the Persian Monarchy, in 1975, there was not a king or tyrant in the world, or a so-called Communist Party Secretary, chiefs of conglomerates of all colors who did not make every possible effort to be invited and to bring the Shah a string of unending gifts, as if the wealth he already possessed was not enough.

It is precisely at this time that around these palaces thousands of children, hungry and without clothing, attacked the rusty garbage cans, searching for leftovers and a crust of bread.

Today, these palaces are open to the public and have been kept just as they were in the past, so they can be visited by hundreds of thousands of visitors. These visits do not have the characteristics of a museum visit. These

palaces, where every room contains photographs depicting the life of poor people from the bitter past, present the real facts and are a documentation, a living witness of the past harsh repression by the rulers of Iran.

These photographs from the past were not there just to show the contrasts of the fabled life of the Shah's family, they were there for our hosts to show us the progress that has taken place in Iran during these last 5 years. Let us provide some facts and numbers.

In pre-revolutionary Iran there was a bottomless chasm between city and village life and between the poor and the rich. Of 64 villages only 4 had electricity, and only 2 were connected by telephone. There was 1 doctor for 30,000 inhabitants in the villages and only 1 bed in the hospital. There is more to add here about schools, roads and the standards of living.

The barrel of the gun began to change this bitter page of Iranian history. During these last 5 years of independence the number of schools has doubled; the number of villages which have electricity has grown to 12,000. Two thousand villages now have telephones. Hard surface roads have opened in many areas. In groups of villages, medical facilities with one doctor and several nurses have been established. Now, proportionally for every 800 inhabitants in the villages there is one doctor. For senior citizens in the villages there are pensions for those over the age of 60. These are very modest, but they still are of great help.

All these accomplishments in the Iranian villages were not realized in 1 day or by giving orders, but through determined and tiring work. In the organization of work in the village we were told that an important role is played by the Xhahadet. These are groups of city workers who take education and culture to the remotest parts of the country; help in working the land, building houses, and improving the conditions of life etc.

In the economic sector attention is being given to the fulfillment of the needs of the people. In factories and plants the slogan for the gradual transition from using imported parts and fixture to using spare parts manufactured domestically has started.

A large exposition was devoted to this purpose in Teheran consisting of numerous pavilions filled with different industrial products, which highlighted an important idea: to produce by their own forces, to become independent in the economic field and to strengthen the economy of the country.

Of great interest to the policy of the country is to normalize and define minimum and maximum pay scales for the workers. According to our escorts the purpose is to lower high wages and gradually raise the scale of the lower wages.

According to the organizational forms for the collection of state revenues, a fund has been set up for the "benefit of oppressed individuals." This fund is derived from revenues in production work centers which belonged to the landowners; and part of the profits now go to pay the wages of the

workers and managers of the property, and part go to the special fund, which in various ways is distributed among the poor, the families of martyrs and the disabled etc.

During our stay in Iran we visited some cultural and art centers. We arrived in Shiraz, a southern city 800 kilometers from Teheran, in time for dinner. Although, we had had meetings and discussions in Teheran, we found ourselves again, without feeling tired at all, well into the night in conversation with our friends from Shiraz: the manager of radiotelevision and the representatives of other cultural institutes. They were interested and asked questions about everything in Albania. How is the economy organized? Is there a private sector? How is life in the villages? What about workers wages, social services, rents etc.

The next day our hosts took us around the verdant city of Shiraz, to the radio-television center, to the monument and burial site of the two most famous Persian poets of the past: Saadiu (1218-1291) and Hafez (1320-1388).

Sixty kilometers from Shiraz is the city of Persepolis which is thousands of years old and was the center of the ancient monarchy. Here in ancient times, Darius I and the dynasties that followed, directed, fought and defended themselves during those famous Persian wars. Here too are found the ruins of that renowned royal palace, known the world over for the thousands of slaves who worked 120 long years to build it. The palace was 400 meters long and 300 meters wide, raised on columns 18 to 38 meters tall. According to history, the palace was destroyed by Alexander the Great.

In 1975, the Shah organized the festivities for the 2500th anniversary of the monarchy near the ruins of this palace in Persepolis. In a speech the Shah declared to the Iranian participants "do not worry, sleep soundly because we are awake." Our Shiraz escorts stated that these words needed neither comment or argument. The lives, efforts and desires of all monarchs have always been to put their people to sleep. Now we the people are awake and have forced the monarchy to be on display in the museum. Not to honor it, but to show how it has ended.

In Persepolis and other historical centers, cultural and artistic monuments are being continually restored and preserved as living witness of the old culture and the struggle of the Iranian people for freedom and independence etc.

Our delegation, from radio-television, witnessed again during their stay in Iran the love and respect the Iranians have for our people and for Albania. They value our principled policy of non-submission to and open conflict with the superpowers. They approve our policy of friendship and support for oppressed nations struggling for freedom and independence.

Everywhere we went and from everyone we met, we heard warm words for the support our people and government gave to the Iranian Revolution.

The Islamic Republic of Iran has become today a determined enemy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. Iran by organizing the country, by relying on its own forces, by remaining vigilant has raised the slogan "the Americans cannot harm us, the Soviet Union cannot harm us." This slogan in large letters is not only written on walls, office, and recreation parks, but has penetrated deeply every cell of Iranian life, because they are aware that the superpowers are treacherous and set their traps in every path. In their vengeful and divisive policy, imperialists of all colors, will always remain active behind the scenes, as they are doing in the war between Iran and Iraq which was imposed by the superpowers.

I wanted to end these notes with a true Iranian saying: It seems that now the superpowers are no longer lamenting the loss of Iran, because Iran has slipped through their hands, they lament the fact that the oppressed people of the world are awake or will wake up and will no longer accept their dictates.

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CSO: 2100/38

NEED FOR MORE 'MILITANT' WRITERS STRESSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 4 Mar 84 p 3

[*"The Militant Writer Presents Social Problems in the Press": a discussion with Aleks Buda, chairman of the Academy of Sciences, Ismail Kadare, author, and Dalan Shpallo, critic*]

[Text] Aleks Buda: Our tradition speaks of creative artists who, as publicists, perform literary and social services. Among them we find such names as Marin Barleti, Naim Frasheri, De Rada and others. According to this tradition, especially during the years of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War, a number of authors emerged and positively asserted themselves. As a historian, I have to admit that I am very interested in this style of literature in different periods of time--journalism. There is strong political and social feeling in these works and one can directly feel the pulse of the times. These works are a living and passionate witness of the contradictions and needs of their time. The fact that a writer has chosen a specific subject and developed it into a theme that attracts public attention shows that he has felt the need to take encompassing measures to address himself eyeball-to-eyeball to a problem which concerned him and his contemporaries; evaluating the great possibilities which this literary style offered him. It is not by accident that journalism, as the history of literature shows, developed primarily during periods of war and revolution. When we say this we have in mind our own present struggle: the struggle for socialist construction in our country.

Ismail Kadare: It is a well-known truth that the birth and development of the periodical and the daily press, have played an important part in the development of literature. This is not only because many well-known writers started their literary careers on the solid path of journalism, but, because of something else as well. The participation of the writer in the press has played a positive, emancipating and democratic role in his art. When we speak of a progressive and revolutionary press we speak, primarily of the press during the socialist era, while the involvement and submission of writers laws of the bourgeois commercial press has been a negative factor.

We can say, without exaggerating in the least, that the broad participation of our writers in the pages of our socialist press, while having a revitalizing influence on the press, is principally of benefit to the writers themselves and to their art, it stresses its militancy and popular character, and it renews and raises its artistic level.

Dalan Shpallo: We have many writers, whose work in press work has helped, and continues to help them in their creativity. This happened and continues to happen because of the direct ties a journalist has with life; because of the many impressions from contacts he has with people and because of his travels throughout the fatherland. It also happens that working for the press is a good way of acquiring expertise on political and economic problems; it makes a writer alert since journalistic work has to be done quickly and well. Among writers who have worked with the press, if we include here writers from the wartime press and after, we find such names as: Sh. Musaraj, A. Caci, Ll. Siliqi, and later J. Xoxa, D. Agolli, I. Kadare and many others. Younger authors such as Xh. Spahiu, N. Gjetja, B. Londo and others have been and are still working for the press. Not only writers who have actually emerged from the ranks of the press, but also art critics and those reporters who write on different subjects and problems have contributed by presenting a direct image of the real situation, and have as a result become more creative and are inspired to write new works. Among the many examples we can mention are Dh. Shuteriqi, K. Jakova, S. Godo, S. Dede, Dh. Xhuvani, P. Cuka and others, who work with the press and continue to write privately.

Ismail Kadare: I want to add that an individualistic style of writing creates inconveniences for the creative writer. The cooperation of the writer with the press is one of the safest ways to avoid these dangers. I think that this cooperation can be called, without fear, a period of creative training for the writer. And as has been said before, this cooperation puts the writer in continuous contact with the mass of readers on contemporary problems: tests his ideas and their depth and importance of the motives which drive him. Lastly, this cooperation keeps alive the author's power of expression and the sharpness of his pen which, as everything else, needs constant renewal.

Aleks Buda: These are precisely some of the opportunities which journalism offers to the man of science. The historian, for example, is not a specialist on specific problems of architecture, music, sociology, the figurative arts etc., but as a man of science, as a citizen of his time he feels the need to, and must, even here have his say, in the same way as these problems have need of the historian's word. This opportunity is made available to them by journalism, and it is precisely this opportunity which we have not fully utilized, which we have failed to emphasize in order to find the necessary measures to solve scientific problems. Let us examine, among other things, our historiographic magazines, not only for their topics, but also for the way these topics were handled, which is sometimes dry and one-sided and does not arouse our curiosity or provoke discussions.

I can also say that, in this same way, some writers avoid discussing problems in the press, thinking that they have to relinquish a rational manner of expression and concentrate more on feelings and inspiration. This is wrong. In journalism, and even more, in artistic writing these two elements stand side by side.

Dalan Shpallo: Today there is a need for a more intensive and more skilled cooperation of writers with the press. We must admit that reporting in

general, and literary reporting in particular are not pleasing the readers in the way they should. The observations of life are superficial; there are few opinions and judgments from other areas: on individuals, the economy, culture, social groups and styles of living. The writer is primarily a citizen, an individual, who lives and must live closer to the problems of the times, which should be felt and reflected even more on the printed page. The editorial staffs could be more helpful and allow writers to have more space on their printed pages. When we say "writing," in the context of journalism, we do not think only of reporting and describing. It is important for writers to cultivate different subjects and styles of writing, such as character writing, cultural writing, studies on life, aesthetic writing and works which treat various problems of life and culture, on the basis of facts and concrete data.

To achieve this it is not only necessary to increase demands on the editorial staff, but it is also necessary to enlarge the horizon and militancy of the authors. Creativeness without a goal, without knowledge of the problem that is under discussion, will naturally fail to discover anything new, and will only be putting on paper impressions that are dry and uninteresting.

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ALBANIA

GREEK STUDENTS, TEACHERS PRAISE POLICY ON MINORITIES

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Apr 84 p 1

[Interview given to the Albanian Radio and TV Editor]

[Text] In recent days, a group of students and university students from Janina University visited our country at the invitation of the Tirana University Student Committee. Friends from Greece visited Tirana, Kruje, Gjirokaster and Sarande. Before their departure from our country and while the group was visiting Ksamil plantations, the editor of the Albanian Radio and TV interviewed the chairman of the group, Professor Janis Malakasis, as well as Professor Dhimitris Lules, and students Josifis Dhaskales and Dhespina Karfopulu. First, he turned to Professor Jani Malakasis.

Question: During these days, your group visited various districts in our country, and met with students and teachers at Tirana University and other institutions. With what impressions do you leave Albania?

Answer: I am leaving with very good impressions. I never thought the friendly and neighboring Albania had made so much progress in such a short period of socialist construction. What we saw is a miracle. Besides education, which interests us the most as teachers, we saw the great progress made in all other fields, in agriculture, industry, and in general the whole progress of your country. We came to Albania eager to see your country and the progress you have made, but, to tell you the truth, we never thought we would see such a miracle, like Ksamil, where we are now. For us it is unbelievable that in such a short period you could have transformed mountains into terraces with olives and citrus fruit trees, and make the mountains a place where people live happily. That is why you, too, are miraculous. You have achieved all this without help from anyone, without depending on anyone. I would say only this: Congratulations to the Albanian people for the progress it has achieved.

Question: Professor, during your stay in the Gjirokaster district you also visited Dropull, the area of the Greek minority that lives in Albania, and had the opportunity to visit the homes of the inhabitants of Dropulli and to talk to them. What impressions do you have from this visit?

Answer: I welcome this question and it is a suitable question because in our country a campaign has begun on this issue and a lot has been heard

about the problems that this minority allegedly faces in your country. We had the opportunity to visit Derviciani, while other members of the group visited also Goranxhi. Our impressions are simple, clear and categorical. Greek traditions are being preserved, the language is being spoken, songs, customs, and everything else that characterizes a nationality were evident and people are proud that they are members of the minority in Albania. I could not conclude that these people are suffering from discrimination.

Question: As far as I know, you, Professor Dhimitris, are a teacher of Balkan history at the Janina University. With what impressions do you leave Albania?

Answer: There is very little I can add. My colleague said it very well. As a historian, I would like to say we are two nations that have a lot in common. We fought against the same conquerors and moreover this visit to your country has assured us of something we did not know previously: that the Albanian people, under the leadership of its party, has scored unusual achievements without any outside assistance. This is something to be admired most.

Question: How about you, Josifis, with what impressions do you leave our country?

Answer: With the best of impressions. I did not know Albania. Now, all of us who were here know Albania and I would like to point out that we were all amazed by the achievements in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, under the leadership of the Workers Party and its leader. We were impressed by the pride of the Albanian people and by the great ideals it realizes. These ideals are cultivated in socialism, by Marxism-Leninism.

Question: What can you tell us, Dhespina?

Answer: I, too, like the comrades, am leaving with the best of impressions. In addition to the progress and the achievements of the Albanian people, I was very much impressed by the hospitality and simplicity of your people. They are such good people and they welcomed us with such love. I had the opportunity to establish friendly contacts with Albanian students and am leaving with the best of impressions. It is something I shall not forget for the rest of my life.

--Thank you very much for the interview and welcome again to Albania.

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ALBANIA

'SELF-SATISFACTION' OF INSTITUTE HEAD CRITICIZED

Tirana ZERI POPULLIT in Albanian 4 May 84 p 3

[Article by Thimi Nika]

[Excerpts] As soon as the head of the group, the Director of the Directorate of Geology [in the Ministry of Industry and Mines] Haki Caslli, read the material prepared by the monitoring group, the director of the Geological Studies and Design Institute, Bashkim Lleshi, had 25 questions to ask. Among them was one question which could not help but attract attention: "Why was there no mention of the studies carried out which have remained in the ministry and have not been implemented, despite the fact that we have approved them in the institute?"

It is true that some studies remained in the ministry for a long time even though one of them has been approved by the Scientific Council of the Ministry. Why haven't they been implemented? Deputy Minister Martin Cukalla did not approve them because there were comments on them which were passed onto the study groups of the institute. However, although the quality of the studies is poor their authors are reacting haughtily to the comments made. On 13 February 1984 the ministry sent a letter on the matter and the next day the institute responded in a letter: "The studies do not have any defects and therefore we do not have to do anything to them." This not-so-modest response was also given to the latest analysis.

No one would deny that work has been done in this institute. But shortcomings and weaknesses which reduce the quality and effectiveness of scientific research work have appeared and are appearing. Where do they appear? Let us examine only one aspect--the tendency to cover large areas, without solving problems, without looking toward the future. In many cases the subject matter does not move from a study completed earlier to a study undertaken later--for the analysis and solution of basic problems which disturb production.

There can be no talk about the effectiveness of the studies when it is known that the effectiveness of geological prospecting for chrome was calculated at 22 tons per linear meter drilled in 1980 and now it is 20 tons per linear meter. Thus, there has been a decrease in effectiveness when there should have been an increase. This indicator which is a sign of the relative backwardness and the low qualitative level of the studies is also an alarm signal, both for the workers of the Geological Studies and Design Institute and the geological enterprises and for specialists in the geology directorate of the ministry.

The effectiveness of the studies of the Geological Studies and Design Institute depends, to a considerable extent, on the work of the analytical sector. During the 1981-1983 period, the laboratory carried out thousands of chemical analyses. But these have not always been used as they should in prospecting for new minerals. The further improvement of the effectiveness of the studies is inseparably linked with the coordination of this work within the Institute, among its sectors, and with the geological enterprises, the Faculty of Geology and Mines and the other scientific institutions. Of course, there have been achievements in this area. But there have also been unutilized reserves. For example, the subject groups of the Institute for Useful Minerals do not have the direction of basic scientific work well in hand, except for regions where studies have been made. They do not have a good enough knowledge of the situation and of drilling prospects to guide and direct the enterprises in the treatment of scientific problems for the purpose of increasing the effectiveness of drilling activity.

Each year a number of studies are carried out in the Geological Studies and Design Institute. However, the work is considered to be completed when the studies are approved and recorded, with no concern for carrying them out. This is formalism. The euphoria and self-satisfaction of Director Bashkim Lleshi and other officials of this institute are impermissible. The 3, 6, and 9-month analyses, which are a parade of successes and which suffer from lack of criticism and of self-criticism, show this. In this institute, the opinion of specialists in the institute, the ministry and the grassroots is not given proper value. The faults and shortcomings pointed out are evidence of an unsatisfactory situation in the institute, which, we think, should be the object of a detailed analysis by the party organization and its levers. Also, workers in the geology directorate of the ministry should give more attention and guidance to this institute, giving it the necessary assistance to carry on its work in the best way possible.

CSO: 2100/42

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

YOUTH UNION OFFICIAL WRITES IN SOVIET PAPER

Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 5 Apr 84 p 3

[Article by V. Pravda, secretary of the Central Committee of the CSSR [Czechoslovak Socialist Republic] SSM [Socialist Union of Youth]: "Convictions, Responsibility and Activity;" Prague]

[Text] To be a reliable assistant and the fighting reserve of the communists' party -- that is the way that members of the CSSR Socialist Union of Youth have always understood and understand their main task. New and active fighters for the realization of the Communist Party program grow up within the numbers of the union; these are the conscious representatives of the young socialist generation. The best of the best members of SSM become communists, the heirs of the glorious traditions of KPCh [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] and the continuers of the struggle for the happy future of their motherland. The fact that the SSM organizations can recommend young candidates for their membership in the KPCh we see not only as a honorable right that is given to us by the party charter but as a great responsibility in the deed of preparing the new generation of communists. "The admission of an SSM member into the KPCh," it says in the charter of our union, "is the highest appraisal of his activity."

We see our goal, beginning in one's early years, to awake his need for communal work, help him to realize its necessity and significance, give him wide space for his initiative and search, and teach him independence and responsibility for an entrusted deed. However, it sometimes so happens that assistance to the studying youth is substituted by a daily guardianship on the part of the elders. Teachers and raykom instructors take upon themselves important tasks that should be independently solved by the SSM committee of the school or the educational institution. Behind this lies nothing else but the desire to achieve good indicators at any price. However, such "assistance" becomes more of a brake in a young person's development and leads to the formalistic and indifferent attitude of young men and women to the life of their SSM primary organization. Experience proves that this situation is not and never can be where SSM raykoms and educators do not substitute but carefully direct the activity of SSM cells, and where young teachers-communists see themselves responsible for both the students' education and growth of their social-political activity.

Their close and fruitful collaboration with party organizations allows them to

achieve a high level of succession in the educational process and also, when a young man, having left school's doorstep behind comes to the VUZ auditorium or becomes a member of a labor collective. It assists the SSM organizations to struggle against the accepting attitude towards shortcomings, inconsistencies in the fulfillment of the mapped-out plans, and averaging in the evaluations of the socio-political activity of the youth union members. In the final result, it is the daily care of the elder communist comrades that ensures the successful work of the SSM primary organizations in the education and target-oriented preparation of the young for their admission to KPCh.

We can present numerous good examples of such work. Positive experience has been accumulated at the Vitovits metallurgical combine imeni Klement Gottwald, at the Secondary Professional School imeni Yu.A. Gagarin in the city of Kosice, where future metallurgists are trained, and in the Prague association Stroymontazh. At the Martin plant of heavy machine building, at the Yugostroj association, and in the joint agricultural cooperative Ricany in South Moravia Krajs they work with young candidates for party membership in target-oriented fashion. Here, speaking as a collective reference for a young candidate, the primary SSM organizations thoroughly analyze the specific results of his labor and social activity and, most importantly, in such analysis they rely on the good advice, authoritative opinion and the comprehensive assistance of party organizations.

Today, life specifically demands an integrated and thorough approach to the education and the preparation of young communists. However, this is still not consistently put into practice everywhere. In this lies one of the main reasons that, until this day, a significant portion of the SSM members enter the party without the recommendation of the primary SSM organization.

It also happens like this: the decision for recommendation has already been adopted, but the future young communist has not yet participated in the life of the SSM organization and is thus unprepared for serious political work. Such an approach does not in any way answer the requirement for the nomination of most active members of the youth union. Only when a person is tested in real work and when, in the primary organization, they are very familiar with his moral and social qualities, a collective recommendation carries weight and authority.

Of course, the act of admission of a young man as a KPCh candidate member, somber and memorable for the rest of his life, does not conclude the work of the primary SSM organization. Also, the resolution of the 3d SSM Congress speaks about this; among the most important tasks the assistance, on the behalf of collective recommender in the course of one's entire candidacy stage, is named.

The young communist must be an example both in labor and in social life, he must know how to work with people, and always and everywhere he must faithfully carry out the Communist party policy. These are high requirements. It is precisely these that become that goal which the SSM organizations are called on to strive for in their educational activity. This was recalled in The KPCh Central Committee Secretariat decree, adopted in September of last year, which was dedicated to the education of young communists in the Northern

Czech party organization. An in-depth analysis of the specific forms and methods of the party successors preparation are contained in it, and the positive experience and shortcomings that still exist in this most important sphere of activity are indicated. It is emphasized in the decree that significant unutilized resources also exist in the Socialist Union of Youth. The propositions and conclusions of this party document give new momentum to the SSM work in the education, within its numbers, of such young representatives of the working class, cooperative peasantry and people's intelligensia, who will honorably justify the youth's union references, will become worthy candidates, and later, members of the communist party enjoying equal rights.

In the report of the KPCh Central Committee General Secretary G. Husak, at the 16th Congress of the party, it was indicated that, during the period accounted for, the youth under the age of 35 constituted more than 90 percent of the party newcomers. This fact strikingly reflected the party's trust in youth and its faith in its energy, enthusiasm and its ability to contribute to the realization of all those historical creative tasks that our people solve. Responding to this trust, the Socialist Union of Youth of Czechoslovakia will more actively carry out work in educating the convinced fighters for the party's cause and for the happy future of our fatherland.

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HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY COURSE INTRODUCED IN HIGH SCHOOLS

Budapest KOZNEVELES in Hungarian 23 Mar 84 pp 3-4

[Round-table discussion by Jozsef Lukacs, Gabor Boldizsar, Gyorgy Jozsa and Laszlo Toth]

[Text] What Can Schools Do On Behalf of Higher-Level Philosophical Thinking? Round-table discussion of the teaching of the subject "Introduction to Philosophy."

In the fall, the teaching of the subject "Introduction to Philosophy" began in the fourth year of the secondary schools. It replaced "Foundations of Our World View," in order to make possible in our changing world a better theoretical orientation, clear thinking and a more clear-cut stand on the side of socialism on the part of secondary-school graduates. Great expectations preceded the initiative. What does the curriculum substantively embrace, what is expected from it, how did the teaching of the subject begin, and what kinds of consequences does its introduction entail for teacher training and continuing education? A conversation on these questions took place among Gabor Boldizsar, head of the secondary school department of the Ministry of Education, Gyorgy Jozsa, head of the main department of instruction in Marxism-Leninism of the Ministry of Education, academician Jozsef Lukacs, director of the Institute of Philosophy and president of the curriculum committee of the subject "Introduction to Philosophy," and Laszlo Toth for KOZNEVELES.

[Jozsef Lukacs] "The title of the subject itself, 'Introduction to Philosophy,' already expresses a certain alteration compared to the previous one, 'Foundations of Our World View.' We are not dealing with the systematic and comprehensive teaching of philosophy--which would be absolutely impossible in the fourth year of secondary school without suitable instructional antecedents--but with propedeutics, preparation, introductory study. I feel that the objective need for this is very much in evidence, although the subjective conditions are still to a large extent absent. Among circumstances, that is to say, where the situation in economics and politics is becoming more complicated, the role and significance of a scientific ideological position is growing significantly. It is becoming especially important now that we raise to a higher level the theoretical thinking of young people graduating from secondary school. They must be made capable of understanding complicated situations, able to know how to decide among alternatives, and on the basis of suitable intellectual, moral and other values to know how to get to the

implementation of decisions as well. A higher abstract level formulation is therefore becoming necessary. This is not an unparalleled endeavor in the schools, if we only think of mathematics. However, while in mathematics a suitable abstract level is generally held to be attainable through a certain amount of anguish and effort, in the case of philosophy indignation is often expressed because it deals with complicated questions. Although these complicated questions only cause trouble when we do not know how to lead the mind up to them, when we are not capable of teaching the student how to handle these problems. We must elevate students to Marxist philosophical thought and not shrink back from the difficulties. This of course means the education of the total personality and not some traditional educational task of transmitting theory. Student results must also be judged in accordance with this.

It is not possible, naturally, to teach Marxist philosophy without confronting it with other views. Of course this also means an ideological struggle, but beyond that it is also important in everyday relations in the shaping of a correct critical approach to present differing views. We must teach the young to distinguish and understand other coordinates, too, as well as to recognize their progressive possibilities and to tackle this task.

It is not possible to look at the past of philosophy in the way that we do the history of physics, for example. The kind of results medieval physics or healing achieved can be interesting today at most from the viewpoint of the history of science. The questions raised in past philosophy, however--together with the answers given to them--are very much alive even today and lead to questions that are very timely indeed. (Let us only think of Lenin's observation: he who has not understood Hegel could not have understood Marx's "Capital," either!) Therefore without familiarity with the history of philosophy one cannot think in an up-to-date way about Marxist philosophy. Naturally, when I speak about the importance of the history of philosophy, I am thinking of the historical cognition of philosophical problems, of those that generated stormy disputes at the time, and in response to which very illuminating responses were born: for example, of the ancient dispute over the relation of movement and quiescence or of the several millennia-old problems of the relation between the singular and the general, the connection between faith and knowledge, and question of the interconnections of experience, understanding and emotion, etc.

Naturally it is extraordinarily important that we approach the history of philosophy by a Marxist method. To that end the subject of introducing philosophy also needs the kind of preparation where it becomes understandable to the students what the historical significance is to the traversal of the route leading from mundane thought to the higher spheres of theoretical consciousness. And it is especially important that they understand what great significance Marxist philosophy has on this route."

[Gabor Boldizsar] "We are over the first semester of the teaching of 'Introduction to Philosophy,' and although analyses of teachers and school inspectors are not yet in our possession, we do have some information about it already. It is a rather clear-cut observation that teachers are happy because demanding, modern material has come into their hands. At the same time it caused difficulty for both them and the students that they did not receive the textbook text all at once, but in installments, and therefore they were able to foresee

the whole year's material only in broad outline. The substantive newness of these installments also set them an unaccustomed task, for until now they had not come across the kind of textbook in which long selections awaiting analysis along with short explanatory texts could be found. Although textual analysis has some precedents in the teaching of literature and history, they hardly came across expressly philosophical--and therefore necessarily abstract--texts, and they have no practice in such depth-analysis. In the recent past a problem was also caused by the fact that the next two installments of the "A" version got into the schools only after a two-week lag and, on top of that, they never received the third installment in the series, just the fourth. Naturally, this is not a great problem, because the character of the curriculum makes possible such a rearrangement. It must be admitted, however, that it may cause difficulty even in itself that some feel that they have lost the rhythm and therefore cannot fully complete the curriculum. To them, I believe, it must be said that covering the material from a to z is not a requirement. They should not overwork themselves, rather they should strive for comprehension of what they do complete and to have that knowledge built into the students' thinking.

And how did the instructors choose between the two versions? I think on the basis of sympathy. At the beginning of the year they only had the already-mentioned outline and the recommended syllabus, which worked out the curriculum up to the end of the first semester. Evidently their decision was influenced by which version stood closer to their level of preparedness. And, we hope, also by the interests of the group of students they deal with: by whether they are prepared for more abstract thinking, by whether it is composed of students with a more philosophical, or with a more practical turn of mind. We are especially glad that certain people's fear did not prove justified, and the choice did not ultimately work out in such a way that the A version is being taught in the regular secondary schools, and the B version in the vocational secondary schools. Both are being taught in both places, and therefore presumably it was really interest, preparedness, and student demand that decided."

[Gyorgy Jozsa] "Neither one of the versions of the subject sought to impart ideological knowledge in its full breadth. It is important to note this in two connections, as well. On the one hand, there is no problem if the teacher does not seek to finish the entire curriculum, but to treat the most important elements in depth. On the other hand, it must be seen that this signifies a break with the extensive constructional method of Foundations of Our World View. In vain did 'Foundations of Our World View' strive for completeness, it did not achieve the imparting of truly comprehensive knowledge that also influences behavior. Now we are grasping less, but hopefully holding more."

[Laszlo Toth] "Therefore this year the teachers may make a choice in curriculum and in selections not merely because the current academic year is in many respects experimental, but because it follows from the nature of the subject that they should emphasize certain parts and interconnections more strongly or less. From all this it does not follow, however, that the curriculum does not constitute a closed unit. It is constructed according to the internal logic of the subject, but this internal logic not only makes possible, but even demands, flexibility of treatment."

[Gabor Boldizsar] "The truth is that we see it as much more useful if the students analyze a piece of material in its own full depth, if they make it their own, than if they run superficially through the entire material. It must be emphasized, however, that the instructors should select the curriculum in such a way that, whatever textbook version is used, there be an outline of the bases of Marxist philosophy. Without a familiarization with the fundamentals, that is to say, no selection whatever makes any sense."

[Jozsef Lukacs] "As far as the versions of the syllabus and textbooks are concerned: these are in indirect competition with each other without anybody organizing it. Competition between the two approaches is not an unproductive thing in itself, for whatever the future of the subject may be, it can only be useful that observations may be gathered and processed from two directions. It is unfortunate that for this and for the choice of curriculum by teachers we could not give appropriate help to educators until now. Already with the first steps the syllabus committee of the OPI [National Pedagogical Institute] emphasized the importance of this; we also made a recommendation relative to this, but it has not yet come to a detailed working out of the arrangement. Thus teachers choose the curriculum and methods quite accidentally, and their rates of progress are fairly divergent as well. Some of them--as far as I know--strive to follow every detail of the curriculum to the end. These have less time for profound study. Others--who might do it differently--subjectively assess their own ability and the interest and ability of the classes and select the material according to these."

[Gabor Boldizsar] "It must also be recognized that the time available for the writing of both versions was singularly short in the history of Hungarian textbook publishing. In October of 1982 it became certain that a textbook prepared for the teaching of this subject had not fulfilled the hopes pinned on it, and a new one or ones had to be written, and that quickly enough to be in the schools by September of 1983. At this time we thought about publishing installments. Nor could there have been any question of an experiment, of having a preliminary reading of the manuscript by educators. The authors know that some selections must be changed, and the connecting explanatory texts cannot be regarded as definitive, either. For this reason we asked and even now ask the teachers of 'Introduction to Philosophy' to dispense with all formality and to turn directly to the authors with their suggestions or requests for advice. Both Jozsef Lukacs and Gyorgy Jenei have taken it upon themselves to respond to observations and even to make corrections along the way. They are also working on an improved version, which they will get into the schools for the 85-86 academic year. We are still wondering whether we should have a book prepared or continue with the installments. Both have both an advantage and a disadvantage. The book--with its own unity--is doubtlessly more concise and easier to handle, but since the curriculum also deals with the changing issues of today's world, it is more sensible in case of need to change each installment than the whole textbook. But typographical and other viewpoints, too, may also play a role."

[Jozsef Lukacs] "Let me say something about the content of the two versions! I can merely give an outline of the efforts that are expressed in these versions. In version "A" two installments string theoretical questions onto the one thread of the history of problems, while three installments provide a

systematic approach to the fundamental questions of Marxist philosophy. The titles of the third, fourth and fifth: 'Nature and Society,' 'Man in the World,' and 'History and Community.' The first installment, after an appropriate introduction, surveys the main philosophical disputes up to the end of the Middle Ages, and the second deals with bourgeois philosophy, but this does not mean that we do not find remarks in the others concerning either medieval or bourgeois philosophy.

Version "B" likewise remarks upon the various bourgeois approaches. Rather, this version deals systematically with the issues. It discusses on the one hand problems of history, society and the means of production, and on the other hand questions of science, of scientific cognition. But historical connections are also raised in a logical, systematic approach.

In my opinion, both versions offer the possibility of clarifying ideological, moral, as well as political issues that excite the young, and this is done without being the immediate aim of this subject. And here I must turn back for a moment to the possibility of teacher selection of the curriculum. The educator does well to devote more time to the relationship of faith and knowledge, for example, in a class where the interest of the students deal rather with natural science themes, there for example it is proper to place in the foreground such questions of ancient philosophy as quiescence and movement; where moral issues stand in the forefront, there one must be more concerned about problems of the notion of man; where interest is rather of a political nature, there are the treatment of questions of the philosophy of history is justified, etc. Therefore the teacher must be given freedom and effective assistance. But this now is the concern of continuing education. Here I would mention only this: some assistance is also afforded by the fact that the installments are accompanied by references to the literature, articles are appearing in VILAGOSSAG on the clarification of each philosophical question, an instructor's manual has been prepared for version "B," and now a lecture series has started on the radio to aid the teaching of the subject."

[Laszlo Toth] "I think that it should also be urged that the installments used as the textbook--after the full maturing of the contents--be distributed through the book trade, in order that parents, too, might have access to them. On the one hand, this could contribute to enlarging the philosophical education of the whole society, and on the other hand it would simplify the participation of parents in making this subject successful."

[Gabor Boldizsar] "A word must be said about the preparation of teachers, as well. In the spring and summer the OPI gave central instruction for school inspectors and team leaders in order for them to be able to prepare teachers. In the summer school at Debrecen the authors held lectures and consultations for 150-200 university students. KOZNEVELES also dealt with the teaching of the subject, and therefore we did whatever could be done in such a short time."

[Gyorgy Jozsa] "As far as the training of special teachers is concerned: it started three and one-half years ago as a supplementary specialty in the evening and correspondence divisions of ELTE [Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences] as well as of the universities of Debrecen and Szeged.

Last year, instead of three, fifty completed this specialty. Previously the name of this specialty was 'Foundations of Our World View.' Graduating students, however--since we already knew about the change in the character of the subject--received a diploma in the teaching specialty of secondary school philosophy. It is a very important task that the truly best forces teach the subject in the universities, and this should not be viewed as a subsidiary task.

In the fall we are also planning to start the teaching specialty in secondary school philosophy in the day division at Szeged and Debrecen, as well, within the framework of C-specialty training, in order that future teachers receive really appropriate foundations for secondary school teaching. We are also considering likewise starting C-specialty training at ELTE, naturally retaining A-specialty training as well.

A very enthusiastic group of teachers has assembled in the supplementary specialty at the various universities. It would be a mistake, 'Introduction to Philosophy' would endanger the success of the subject, if they were to lose their interest in study. Presently, it can be said that many can continue their supplementary studies only at the cost of great difficulties, because the councils and the schools do not always create the financial conditions for it. What is more, in some places substitution has not been worked out, yet we cannot disregard their attendance at the university several days a month. Therefore we are herewith also asking for the understanding and help of the directors and faculty of the schools."

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POLAND

BRIEFS

EXPLOSION INQUEST IN ELBLAG--An as yet unidentified explosive device was detonated on 12 May in the stairwell of an apartment building at 74 ul. Traugutta in Elblag. A 22-year-old man was killed instantly as a result of the explosion, and five other men, all 18 years of age, were hospitalized. Two of the five are listed in serious condition. Officers of the Provincial Office of Internal Affairs are conducting an investigation in order to determine the causes of and the circumstances surrounding the explosion. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 May 84 p 2]

PRESS SPOKESMAN RETRACTION--On 1 May I informed representatives of the press that approximately 100 persons had attempted to organize a hostile demonstration in Elblag. At a press conference held on 3 May I commented on the REUTERS report which misrepresented my statement in order to announce that the Polish Government had "admitted" that Elblag had been hit by a wave of public disturbances. Government officials of Elblag Province now advise that the report which I gave on 1 May contained an inaccuracy. The incident to which I referred was organized by five persons and consisted of a gathering of only five, not 100 persons. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5-6 May 84 p 5]

CSO: 2600/988

ROMANIA

CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALISM DISCUSSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 5, 10 Mar 84 pp 10-17

/Speech by Dumitru Popescu, member of Political Executive Committee of the CPR Central Committee, rector of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy: "Substance of the Idea"

/Text/ The social sciences are based upon logical formulas, systems of ideas, general rules, principles and theories and upon theoretical demonstrations necessary to support them. But the substance of the idea is essential, that charge of current truth of the principle and its fiery core snatched from the furnace wherein the constantly changing existence of man and society is smelted at high temperatures. We know the social laws are not eternally and universally valid but change with every order and with each historical stage within the same order. Accordingly there is no greater threat to the theory of society than inflexibility, hermetic isolation in a given system, stereotyped repetition of definitions, abstract speculations and academic demonstrations. Involvement in life, which conforms to no preconceived ideas but constantly gives rise to ideas, courage to break with what is outmoded, generalization of the most recent data on social practice, revision of principles, and determination of new causal connections and new effects are the essentials for the viability of any social theory. It is in this spirit that the CPR operates and the social sciences must be taught in Romanian political and state education.

A number of fundamental points about socialist revolution and construction as well as the characteristics of the present period have been defined in recent years in the party political documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's works in a truly revolutionary spirit and on the basis of study of the changing reality and creative application of the principles of scientific socialism. This effort of ideological renovation is not only of theoretical importance, revitalizing Romanian social-political thought, but also has a certain practical value leading to changes in the party's strategy and tactics themselves and in its approach to the vital problems of social progress.

Freeing the Essential Concept from the Academic

I regard the well-known Marxist theory of the primary role of development of the productive forces of society as the most important one in this respect. Karl Marx' famous concept of the production method, that essential concept of

scientific socialism that contains the very key to understanding history as well as the mechanism of social contradictions and the dialectics of the succession of orders and of progress, was treated in an abstract and academic way for a long time and applied almost exclusively, although that was not expressly admitted, to analysis of capitalism in order to reveal its antagonisms and to draw the conclusion that it would inevitably die. The simplistic interpretation of the theory, both in that light and in that of social evolution, led to well-known, shall we say hasty formulations like "the world revolution," "the downfall of capitalism in the developed bourgeois countries first," "the eve of the proletarian revolutions" etc. that led to both confusion and disillusionment. In correlating the production relations and forces under socialism and the revolution, it seemed that the concept lost in precision at least if not in validity and consequently it was no longer mentioned in connection with practical reality or the socioeconomic stage as an objective law of the new society but only as a teaching device for those who were studying economics and scientific socialism.

The academic and abstract character of the concept of the production relations and forces was eliminated in the CPR and given a specific content by relating it to the Romanian realities. Actually, the relations were changed when the exploiting classes were expropriated but the forces remained as before, that is underdeveloped in Romania's case. The Ninth Party Congress determined the strategy of creating another technical-material base of society as a main requirement for consolidation of socialist gains, improvement of the Romanian living standard, and transition to the fully developed socialist society. After nearly two decades of enormous effort Romania is in the stage of a developing country, a fact made publicly official to the astonishment of observers who may have been convinced that it is sufficient for a state to expropriate the production means in order to advance in all fields including the economy. Let it be said in passing that such a misinterpretation most convincingly reflects the bad effect upon ideological thought of ignoring the role of the productive forces in socialism.

The importance of the productive forces as the most dynamic factor in social development was directly related by Nicolae Ceausescu to the solution of the people's many vital problems and especially to enhancement of the masses' material civilization, but also to social-political problems, including ideological ones, in connection with the level of the technical-material base and the amount of available resources and facilities. It is a clearly stated and basic principle of the economic strategy that the people cannot consume more than they produce and that the consumption fund grows with the national income. Both the progress made in the socialist system in solving the masses' social problems and a number of lags and difficulties that are still encountered can be understood in this light. All that socialist society has so far succeeded in accomplishing for the masses' material existence is due to the progress of the productive forces. Of course against the background of the socialist relations and especially against that background the shortfalls prove to be the results of the limitations and under development of the productive forces. Nicolae Ceausescu has repeatedly stated that paucity of material resources inevitably leads to a socialism of poverty, which makes no sense either in thought or in fact.

The concept that declares it the main goal of socialism to meet the constantly evolving needs and demands of man is based upon recognition of the telling role of development and modernization of the productive forces. Social justice and

equality of living conditions in the various areas and regions depend upon the productive forces policy. Harmonious distribution of the productive forces enables all citizens to enjoy the benefits of socialism, and it is also basic to the correct solution of the nationalities problem and to economic and political equality for the national minorities. Moreover in Nicolae Ceausescu's strategy development of the productive forces is essential for equalizing Romania's development with that of the advanced socialist countries, closing the gap between Romania and the developed industrial countries of the world, and attaining a medium economic level in a first stage. World history and especially contemporary history shows that a state can enrich itself by steadily improving its productive forces, by plundering its own natural resources, or by looting foreign nations. We know of empires that lived on plunder, but they became impoverished, weakened and died because they made no effort to produce. On the other hand the colonial powers who invested their stolen wealth and exploited it through their own people's labor grew richer and richer. As for selling the national resources provided by nature, that can hide poverty only for a while and can postpone but not prevent the outbreak of a crisis. The rich but undeveloped countries have no prospects at all. The only lasting form of wealth is creation of better productive forces by exploiting internal human and material resources, while the poor and weak countries, now and forever, inevitably pay tribute in one way or another to the rich and powerful countries and become dependent upon them economically, politically and militarily. The productive forces are the factor that divides the world today into the rich and poor, the privileged and the frustrated, and even the rulers and the ruled with all the resulting consequences.

#### Theory of Harmony of Productive Capacities

The civilizing capacity of the productive forces depends upon the dialectical harmony established among their components, namely the means of labor, the objects of labor, science and the labor force. When the technical backwardness of the Romanian economy was persisting the party placed rapid change of the means of labor and the production technology on the agenda back in 1965. But the policy and programs for all the other components of the productive forces were set at the same time. The theory of harmony of the productive forces that Nicolae Ceausescu developed is essential to both socialism and modern world progress.

For you may possess perfected and highly efficient technical resources at a given moment, but unless you keep up with the scientific revolution and make use of its advances to make your technology more productive, you will soon find yourself overtaken by the steamroller of progress. You may have both of those factors, but unless you have secured some certain and sufficient sources for the means of labor (At the last National Party Conference Nicolae Ceausescu noted the contradictions between the productive potential and the supply of raw materials and energy), neither technology nor science can be effective and a number of production capacities will be immobilized. Contradictions may also arise between the labor force and the material, technical and scientific potential of the economy when the labor force is not adequately qualified, not used and organized properly, or not sufficiently motivated.

In this connection we must not forget that the main labor force is the individual, the one who activates the other elements and the whole socioeconomic mechanism, the one who lends value to all things by his creative power. Sometimes

in teaching and in propaganda as well the fact is overlooked that the productive forces have an essential subjective component and require careful special treatment both in themselves and in relation to the others. Therefore the role of the labor force, its evolution and its good or bad effect upon society as the case may be are not technical, strictly economic questions but very far-reaching ones with innumerable economic, social and political facets.

Of course we cannot underestimate social and production relations, which can accelerate development of the productive forces or retard them to the point of stopping them altogether, according to Marx' theory. But the contradiction between the two aspects of the production method does not immediately lead either to stagnation or to explosions or social upheavals, as it has been claimed at times. Quite a few simplistic ideas about this are still current, such as the view that the socialist countries have exhausted their power to develop their production means and, on another subject, the theory that the developed capitalist countries are facing an imminent collapse. The socialist countries can secure all-around, rapid social progress by improving their social and production relations and pursuing a scientific policy on all components of the productive forces, while the capitalist countries are succeeding in stimulating and modernizing their productive forces despite the profound injustice of their social relations, which forces permit a living standard acceptable to the workers and are proving capable of preventing a violent explosion of the social antagonisms, no one knows for how long, or prolonging the "agony," to use a cant term. And as Marx warned us, "A social unit never dies before all the productive forces have been developed to which it gives sufficiently free rein, and new and better production relations never appear before the material conditions for their existence have been prepared within the old society."

Material existence, heavily influenced by the level of the productive forces, determines people's political and philosophical conceptions, the level of their thought and awareness, and their social activity. In their turn the ideas and awareness influence the productive forces and become a material force for revolutionary social change if the economic bases lends them the necessary support. Nicolae Ceausescu said that economic prosperity, progress of material production and people's welfare are the chief guarantee of the lasting strength of the socialist system, the masses' loyalty to the cause of socialism, and the power of socialism to resist any outside pressures or dangers.

As a matter of fact worldwide socialist experience proves that the complete loyalty of all social categories and all generations to the socialist program depends upon the correct policy for developing the productive forces to reverse their effects upon the people's material and cultural living standard. Social upheavals that can assume national proportions as in Poland, for example, are found to have their origin in underlying economic causes, along with some anachronisms in the ownership system or impairments of the distribution system and political system. The economic mechanism in that case failed to produce the expected economic effects upon the masses, social labor was not adequately converted to social welfare, and beyond a certain point the production forces policy operated in a vacuum with no contact with the people as direct beneficiaries of their own productive activity. That is why the scientific, flexible, realistic and effective character of the productive forces policy plays a critical part in consolidating socialism and asserting its superiority, and that is how the

predominant role of the productive forces figures in achieving the dialectical unity of the two aspects of the production method, upon which the whole process of socioeconomic development depends. Correct strategy and tactics for socialist and communist construction can be based upon interpretation of this dialectic alone, for as Marx said, "The establishment of communism is essentially economic in nature."

#### Contradiction After a Long Superstitious Silence

Contradictions are another vital aspect of the evolution of socialist society that has been creatively examined and explained by the CPR secretary general. Without this chapter of historical and dialectical materialism and of scientific socialism the social processes cannot be explained nor can revolutionary practice be scientifically substantiated, yet it was neglected or evaded for a certain period. Recently the subject was taken up again in one form or another in almost all the socialist technical literature, revealing the possibility of analyzing the facts of the new order objectively. The fact that the problem of contradictions in socialism was passed over in silence for a long time may also be explained by the erroneous identification of the concept with the abnormal, unhealthy and vicious. The assertion of the founders of scientific socialism that the law of opposites brings about social development in any order was forgotten, and it was believed that acknowledging its operation in socialism implies acknowledgment of the imperfection of socialism and the fact that it is subject to a determinism that compelled all preceding orders to conflict with themselves and with history. It was primarily the fear of admitting the possibility that conflicts can arise in socialism that caused the a priori rejection of the theory of contradictions. Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed the point in recent years that the contradictions are objective factors in social existence and development and must be studied and understood so that they may be used as dynamic elements in the progress of socialism, for if the requirements of the law of opposites are met it expedites and facilitates progress, but if the social action comes into conflict with that law it becomes a temporary source of disturbances and upheavals. Therefore we proceed from the fact that that unity and conflict of opposites are a universal law existing independently of men's will and that it can also be destructive for a time unless its cause and effect are scientifically interpreted and taken into consideration. In socialism too, the contradictions may degenerate into antagonistic conflicts if it is disregarded. That is the idea that the CPR secretary general did not hesitate to state flatly and categorically when he broke a long and painful superstitious silence.

Proper understanding of the contradictions in socialism is vital to the general evaluation of socialist society and of both its resources for progress and of its objective limitations. Some western commentators, even those of communist persuasion, make exaggerated claims as to the ability and potential of socialism to meet all human needs rapidly and completely. This is to some extent due to the fact that they are still prisoners of the undialectical view of socialism. Ignoring the existence of the contradictions, they inevitably reach the dogmatic and idyllic definition of socialism as a society born perfect. Nicolae Ceausescu also warned our propagandists of the danger of idealizing the facts and losing sight of the complexity of social phenomena. Disregard of the contradictions has had a number of bad effects upon the development of socialism in a number of countries. Some of them are political and others are economic, such as

failure to meet the public's consumer needs, especially the dietary ones, inadequate solution of agricultural problems, etc.

The CPR proceeds from the optimistic assumption that the contradictions are not insoluble in socialism. In the first place they are not antagonistic by the very nature of socialist society, but they can degenerate into malign forms only where and when the principles of scientific socialism are violated and the objective realities are overlooked in preparing revolutionary strategy and tactics. Moreover, what is most important, the contradictions or rather their bad effects do not disappear automatically in socialist society but only through purposeful action. There will be contradictions as long as social classes and categories with interests of their own exist, even if they are not antagonistic. Failure to resolve the contradictions adversely affects society's material development, but it also affects the individual and the masses and thereby becomes a political problem. Historical experience in the area of the world socialist system has strikingly reflected the harmful political effects of neglecting contradictions. The facts show that the theory must be definitely abandoned that socialism can know no difficulties and that acquisition of power by the working class automatically solves the problems and leads to implementation of socialist principles. Socialism can also suffer economic crises, due both to the influences of the world economy and to a wrong policy or disregard of the law of opposites. Calling attention to the contradictions, the socioeconomic difficulties and the right conclusions alerts society to the necessity of trying to eliminate the difficulties and encourages the revolutionary effort to solve the problems correctly, while blinking at the contradictions and their effects generates indifference, disarms public opinion and fosters a feeling of depression that has nothing in common with socialism. For it is appropriate to repeat here that the contradictions operate whether we are aware of them or not and whether we take the action they indicate or whether we act arbitrarily. In the social field the law of conflict of opposites inevitably leads to progress. The difference is that a rational, scientific policy accelerates progress and obtains at a lower prices, with advantages, while a subjectivist, short-sighted policy delays it or obtains it with sufferings, disruptions, disturbances and upheavals that affect people's lives and may temporarily compromise a noble cause.

The correct approach to the concept of contradiction in socialism must take the form of an innovating revolutionary policy always intent upon the pressing demands of life. Nicolae Ceausescu keeps pointing out the necessity of understanding that socialism is not a triumphal march but a constant struggle with obstacles, negative trends and all kinds of difficulties. That requires a clear and purposeful attitude toward the social problems. In socialism criticism and self-criticism throughout all society are a natural corollary of the law of opposites.

Accordingly the CPR secretary general also opposes the idea of socialist construction in a slow, automatic evolution, pointing out that the revolutionary struggle was not over when the revolution was won and power was acquired by the working class, since the expropriators' expropriation was not an end in itself but only a requirement for social justice and equality and for abundance. Construction of the fully developed socialist society and transition to communism call for great revolutionary changes in society and accordingly a keen militant spirit serving the public good and advancement of the true socialist values

while combatting any instances of social or moral degeneration and dissolution. The entire historical process of socialism and communism is a constant social struggle, of a different nature than revolution to be sure and using other means, but also pursuing the goal of removing the obstacles from the path of social progress. Therefore we are not promoting the theory of constant revolution but the theory of constant progress, implying rejection of the status quo, and the theory of change, excelling and self-excelling. As partisans of progress we do not envisage stagnation or see a maximum in what has been accomplished, however good it is. Furthermore we plan progress in stages, for the long run. We keep striving for higher stages and attain them in conflict with inertia, complacency, indifference, minimal resistance and conservatism. And that means preserving the revolutionary spirit.

The CPR has pointed out that there are also contradictions in the relations among the socialist countries and that they have at least two sources, one in the problems that have accumulated in time, namely domination, oppression, territorial annexation, historical disputes etc., which the transition to socialism does not eliminate over night, and the other in the appearance of differences of opinion on the nature of socialist construction, the world's new problems and the attempts of some to impose their will on others. The facts call for correction of the dogma that there are no conflicts among the socialist countries and that socialism automatically eliminates national differences. Therefore it is wrong to consider it a foregone conclusion that relations among the socialist countries are always and automatically based upon the correct principles of scientific socialism and that the problems that arise are ideally resolved in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Of course this is a goal, and a permanent one, but it is not attained automatically. Persevering, principled and forceful action must be taken if it is to be attained. This first requires recognition and knowledge of the contradictions and their causes. Reality must not be concealed or embellished but presented with its imperfections and never in an ideal form.

Nicolae Ceausescu has considerably expanded the field of investigation of contradictions, going beyond the national borders and those of a social system and determining a series of new and particularly dangerous antagonisms throughout the world to which I shall refer later. This enriches the Romanian conceptions both of the conflict of opposites and of contemporary affairs.

#### Intensity of the National Factor

The national problem and the role of the nation in socialism constitute another vitally important field to which the CPR secretary general has made noteworthy theoretical contributions, and in which some of the most varied ideas and interests are conflicting in the world. We are proceeding from the idea that so far from any detraction from the importance of the nation, for objective reasons an unprecedented development of its role is taking place throughout human society in the present historical stage. We are seeing the most widespread struggle against the imperialist and neocolonial policy for abolition of the anachronistic relations among states and their establishment on new and democratic principles of equality and mutual respect. In the countries of the so-called third world, which contain most of the world's population, development and consolidation of the nation are now essential to socioeconomic progress and the start of

revolutionary democratic reforms. In the capitalist countries as well defense of the national prerogatives of sovereignty and independence against the dominating, expansionist and hegemonist attempts of imperialism is a vital political objective around which the masses and the nations are rallying. The fight against supernational bodies as forms of economic subordination of peoples and their national interests has become widespread in our period. The intensity of national feeling is also to be seen in the opposition to the policy of interference in small states' affairs and, finally, in the resistance to the policy of spheres of influence.

The nation has acquired a new character in the socialist countries, one in keeping with the new production relations and the new historical laws. It is performing an essential function in strengthening the people's unity and in galvanizing their creative powers for revolutionary social action. The policy on the nation is an essential criterion for implementation of scientific socialism. It is especially necessary to study the national problem in depth because ideas about internationalism are still current of a kind that implies subordination of the various nations' particular interests to some general-abstract interests. Historical experience has shown how important it is both to efficient socialist construction in each country and to the advancement of correct relations of real solidarity among the socialist countries to respect national sovereignty. Defense of national sovereignty is more urgent in socialism because the socialist revolution gave the peoples true self-determination, and therefore the socialist state is a real and direct representative of their will and major interests as contrasted with the past, when it merely represented the ruling classes in the minority of society. The question of the nation and observance of its sovereign rights must also be examined in connection with the attempts to falsify the concept of nationalism. As applied to the countries that take a firm stand in defense of national independence, the term implies elements of political hegemonism.

#### The General Apart From the Particular?

Nicolae Ceausescu has made an important contribution to clarification of the long disputed question of the relationship between general and particular in the theory and practice of socialism. Following the general principles of scientific socialism in revolutionary social reform is the theoretical premise of the Communist Party's strategy. The question is how the general principles are applied in keeping with the specific objective conditions, with the people's historical traditions and national personality, and with their immediate and long-range aspirations and interests. The general cannot be expressed apart from the particular and exists only as embodied in the particular. An abstract general, divorced from the specific, is meaningless. Any general idea is verified in practice, and not once but every time it is to be embodied. In other words, the principles are always being tested. Moreover they never emerge from contact with practice 100 percent the same but are enriched, differentiated, modified and particularized constantly. The value of the "general" in the revolutionary conception lies solely in its constantly receptive and dynamic character, sensitive to changes and the world's current diversity, and in its reception of all the world's experience in man's historical development and of the wisdom acquired over the centuries by human society in its struggle for material and cultural progress. The waving of the banner of a purely general actually hides a

disguised particular. The CPR has opposed and opposes any tendency to regard a given particular experience as universally valid and obligatory, that is to confuse the particular with the general. This applies alike to the experience of any of the socialist countries and to that of the communist parties in the developed capitalist countries, who define their strategies for future transition to socialism in terms of the particular historical facts. We do not accept the theory of "real socialism" because we feel it limits the field of experience of socialism to a restricted number of countries that apply a certain model in more or less the same way, and it lends credence to the conclusion that other experience is in conflict with the Marxist-Leninist theory and consequently not valid. But neither do we subscribe to the assertion that the socialism created in certain states has exhausted its resources for progress and its revolutionary momentum, and therefore the new model of viable socialism that can lead humanity forward is to be sought in the data offered by developed capitalist society, the consumer society. It would be obviously wrong to conceive of the socialism to be created in the developed capitalist countries in the future in the form and likeness of that in more or less agrarian countries with a poor industry and feudal remnants in agriculture and consequently with underdeveloped productive forces and limited experience in parliamentary democracy. But it would be equally wrong to picture all states' and peoples' future transition to socialism according to the pattern of the new society outlined by the communist parties in the western capitalist countries benefiting by privileged material conditions resulting from long colonial domination and the centuries-long bourgeois political system. The vast diversity of the developmental levels and particular conditions wherein the peoples of the world are living today, ranging from the Scandinavian living standard, let us say, to societies that are still tribal, urgently demands a multiplication of ways of transition to socialism and specific methods of forming the new society, with every people and every country creating its own model of socialism, if it can still be called a model, according to its own national realities. Now more than ever the revolutionary future toward which mankind is striving requires of the political organizations a correct interpretation, free of any dogmas, any servitude, and any narrow strategic interests or ideological arrogance, of the general-particular equation, upon which harmonious combination of the requirements of the idea with those of practice depends.

#### Democracy Is No Aesthetic Attribute

In the last two decades a new path had to be broken in the socialist world in the area of democracy and a democratic political system and accordingly toward improvement of the democratic bases of the Communist Party and the democratic structure of the socialist state and toward institution of a general climate of freedom and participation. The CPR secretary general demonstrated both the necessity and the possibility of enhancing democracy in the socialist system. Democracy is not, shall we say, an aesthetic attribute of socialism or a kind of luxury, but an objective law and a sine qua non for the success of the vast revolutionary effort to construct socialism and communism. Democracy of the socialist kind was made possible by the new conditions created by the revolution, namely expulsion of the exploiting classes from power, defeat and elimination of the reactionary forces that were trying to restore the old regime, and the rise of the working masses to a new political and cultural level enabling them to exercise the prerogatives conferred by a broadly popular political system. When all classes of society are earning their living by their own labor and are

united by common economic and social interests, no kind of restriction of the democratic freedoms is justified, nor do the extension of rights and their exercise by the entire population present any kind of danger to the security of the socialist state.

Improvement of the role, functions and structure of the Communist Party as a political leader of society is basic to the Romanian conception of socialist democracy. The party's role in society is patterned on development and improvement of the democratic forms of social management, while further expansion and improvement of the democratic socialist system depend in their turn on democratization of the party. The party maintains and strengthens the people's confidence by acting as a unified democratic body to create the broad democratic framework for mass participation in social management.

What form is taken by the process of democratizing the party, as it was repeatedly described by Nicolae Ceausescu, especially on the 60th anniversary of the CPR? The party's leadership in society is not regarded today as an independently authoritarian one, so to speak, above the classes and society but only in connection with the leadership of the working class. In the Romanian view, the party does not lead in the name of the class but jointly with it, with all workers, and with the entire people. This also defines the communists' mission in democratic organization of the state, the public bodies and all society. Therefore the communists must have greater responsibility in the democratic bodies' activity for combining the people's efforts and implementing the general policy of socialist construction. It says in the CPR documents that the party's political leadership does not consist of issuing orders but of its ability to convince the democratic bodies and ensure their efficiency. This precisely defines the long road traveled from the old concept of the party as an authoritarian entity based on methods of command of both the class to which it belongs and the other friendly classes to its position as a motive force for democratic relations in society and as a factor for convincing and thereby ideologically and politically influencing the working class and the people to attain the goals of socialism in full agreement and in keeping with the entire nation's most vital interests. The new definition of the party's position and function in society is not to order but to convince the democratic bodies and ensure their efficiency, a definition that radically changes the view of relations between the party and the people and between the party and the task of socialist construction. In close connection with this the principle is also confirmed that the communists have no special rights or privileges in society and must be the first and most active militants for observance of the laws and consequently the legal order and of socialist legality and democracy.

In the second place, the democratic concept involves change of the state's functions and structure. The present period demands development and improvement of the collective management organs' role as an objective requirement, so that it is a matter of democratizing the organizational forms of the state and society in order to accomplish the desired participation. Workers self-management and self-administration are the particular form of the concept of socialist democracy in Romania, and they reflect the new relations and the position of the working class and the other workers vis-a-vis the production means as owners, producers and beneficiaries. The party redefined relations between the people and the state, pointing out that the people are the owners of socialist wealth and

the state is the administrator who acts in their name and on their behalf. That put an end to the confusion that reigned and may still reign /sic/ concerning the state's omnipotence as a wielder of economic power and as the new owner of the national wealth to whom the labor force, that is the people, must be "committed" in order to earn a living. The theory of the socialist state as "boss" and "owner" flagrantly conflicts with the principle that it is in the nature of the socialist revolution to transfer the production means from the hands of the exploiting classes to the hands of the working class as well as the other productive classes and the people as a whole. The party also redefined the relations between the party and the state, pointing out that the state and the legislative and decision-making organs are supreme organs of power by virtue of the power that the people vest in them and actually exercise. Party leadership cannot replace the state organs or detract from their great responsibilities, and it does not make the party the prime factor and the state the secondary one. In other words the state is no inferior category in the socialist order. On the contrary, the party declares its obligations to entirely respect the laws promulgated by the organs holding supreme power in the state in their spirit and to the letter. Accordingly the state is under the complete authority of the masses in a new social hierarchy wherein the state organs are subordinate to the people, whose will governs both the legal order and the national programs. The reasons have been fully explained for permanently abandoning the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat and changing the definition of Romania to that of a state of revolutionary workers democracy. The new concept also suggests the fact that the state democracy is governed by the spirit of the most advanced and consistently revolutionary class of society, which has been the pivot of the revolution and is the leading force for socialist construction. The socialist political literature contains some contradictory discussions and anachronistic stands concerning the definition of a socialist state and the terminology in use, and they can only impair revolutionary theory and practice.

#### Components of the New Humanism

The concept of the new quality of life in socialism and the idea of socialist civilization are of major interest to the socialist world, but also to the world revolutionary movement and to thinkers everywhere. Accordingly Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized the new humanism, in the sense of placing man in the center of all creative material and cultural activity. The goals of humanism are well-being (But by that I do not mean the economic parameters of socialist civilization), social justice, unrestricted development of the human personality, and harmonious relations between the individual and society. Socialist humanism is defined in at least two ways, on the one hand by relations among people, including relations of ownership and work, political relations, including everyone's right to take a stand and participate effectively in the democratic system, and civic relations, and on the other hand by the relationship between the individual and society as socialist humanism establishes justice and equity and legislates all individuals' economic, political, cultural and other rights, by every citizen's purposeful assumption of responsibilities to society, and also by the state's greatest solicitude for the citizen.

Socialist humanism includes social, philosophical and ethical components in addition to the material condition. The social component, determined by elimination of class antagonisms and agreement of the basic interests of the new classes and groups, calls for individual freedom and solidarity of the members of society at

its two poles. Based upon each one's purposeful option and a common goal, solidarity takes the forms of equality, mutual aid and militantism. Realizing that they are necessarily, voluntarily and equally dependent upon each other, people work together to promote and develop values in which they are all interested and from which they benefit in proportion to each one's ability and effort. Solidarity does not exclude criticism or even sanction when individual actions deviate from the collective, group interests or conflict with and impair them. The philosophical component of socialist humanism requires a clear awareness of the scale of human values beyond the collective, class or group instinct and consequently an important aspect of the solidarity of the members of society amounting to the capacity for conceptual identification of the good and bad in their new social sense and for interpretation of the significance of human acts. The philosophical component determines militantism on the level of the idea and the struggle with the old in awareness and attitudes for consolidation of the new system of representations, relations and ideological classifications basic to the collective morality. And finally the ethical component, which is derived from the philosophical one and also pertains to awareness and the system of thought, guides civic behavior. It is reflected in the conscience of the individual and externalized in a code of attitudes that lend uplift and nobility, that is a new quality of the atmosphere that surrounds the daily life of all.

Nicolae Ceausescu's persevering appeal for mastery of the latest advances of science and human knowledge is noteworthy in connection with the ideology and awareness characteristic of socialist humanism. That appeal is intended not only to broaden people's cultural horizon and enrich their information but, beyond that, to close some basic gaps in their ideological education. Because of an anachronistic conception and some mechanical teaching methods, some courses convey the impression that historical and dialectical materialism is divided into two distinct components, namely dialectical materialism as a philosophy of nature and historical materialism as an application of dialectical materialism to society. This would lead to the conclusion that the proletariat's philosophy originated solely in observation of natural phenomena and was introduced into the social area from outside, when everyone knows that the motive of Marx' philosophical procedure was, as he himself said, the shift from interpreting to changing the world, that is society. This dichotomy appears to be one of the factors preventing historical and dialectical materialism from utilizing the great advances of the positive sciences in social analysis, from projecting man upon the background of the new knowledge, and from philosophically substantiating the standards of revolutionary humanism in the light of the influence of the information explosion. To say nothing of the fact that it does not always keep up with the pace of contemporary society or with the dialectics of the great revolutionary changes in the world, while between the two aspects of our philosophy arbitrarily divided into courses the risk arises of losing sight of the dialectics of thought, a component part of revolutionary humanism, and in the gap left by it the danger arises of inserting some forms either of idealist philosophy or of vulgar materialism, or of some rudimentary attitudes devoid of any coherent conception of the world and life. Mastery of the modern sciences and the new advances in the study of nature and society are accordingly indispensable to enrichment of our philosophy, lending it the strength to consolidate the masses' materialist convictions, to enhance their militantism, to undermine the old positions in thought, and to impart a true revolutionary-humanist education.

## Is This Period Confined to One Kind of Contradictions?

The CPR in the person of Nicolae Ceausescu has contributed many new elements to the description of the present period. In that connection, even today simplistic formulations are current in the world that reduce the contradictions and revolutionary processes to a single feature, namely the transition from capitalism to socialism. The entire reality is confined to only one kind of contradictions, namely class ones, partly between the traditional antagonistic poles, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and partly between the socialist and capitalist systems. This one-sided view is also due to dogmatic absolutizing of the old formulation to the effect that the history of societies is the history of the class struggle, and it eventually led to elimination of the national factor from the scene of historical development and to neglect of the dialectical unity between the social and the national, the relations among states, the appearance and disappearance of empires, and the struggle against foreign subjugation that runs throughout mankind's millenary existence. On that basis it was also asserted that "Proletarians have no fatherland," with its evil corollary of neglect by some communist parties of their own peoples' national interests. In correcting the serious lapses in this reasoning, the CPR documents point out that the struggle against social exploitation and national oppression, the two permanent aspects of historical injustice, is the motive force of human progress.

Of course the present period is not governed either by any one unity of opposites, but by a series of contradictions interacting in a vast complex that confronts the revolutionary, progressive forces with entirely new problems in determining their strategy and tactics. Alongside the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the antagonism between socialism and capitalism, the nations are struggling to consolidate and defend their independence against the policies of imperialist domination, interference in internal affairs, maintenance and consolidation of spheres of influence, and hegemony. The confrontation between the policies of domination and independence is not only impossible to underrate but is also becoming crucial because it involves the whole community of nations. Accordingly the CPR has made an analysis of its own, emphasizing points overlooked in the heat of the polemics between the two social systems. Moreover Nicolae Ceausescu has noted attempts at domination as a more general characteristic of current international affairs, true of various circles. The international upheavals are also due to opposition to the tendency to shift the balance of power established after World War II and to create a new one based upon a greater diversity of power centers that would enable the third world, the small and medium countries, and the unaligned movement to play their proper role. And there is also opposition to the effort to replace the very precarious balance based upon military blocs with relations of confidence and collaboration among states. This also explains Romania's stand of not feeling obligated to be automatically identified with a bloc policy of conflict and discord, and of consistently promoting a rational, constructive policy solely serving detente and peace.

Observation of the course of international affairs leads to the conclusion that the policy of domination and reallocation of spheres of influence has two aims, one to promote political interests by economic means, and the other to resort to force of arms to impose economic and political interests. The latter is the chief danger at the moment.

Furthermore, the class contradictions are inseparable from the increasingly deep, violent and protracted antagonism between the rich and poor countries. Most of the world's population is seriously injured by the inequitable distribution of wealth and the unequal economic and political relations perpetuated in the world arena. In the CPR's view this contradiction is so intense that it sometimes becomes paramount in the social-political confrontations in the world of today.

In this connection, the question of attitudes toward the new international economic order is becoming acute. In some views the countries that had colonies should be concerned with this problem, since the other are in no way obligated to help eliminate underdevelopment and the partition of the world into rich and poor. It has even been maintained that this partition is a reactionary idea capable of placing socialism and capitalism on the same plane and opposing the socialism of the third world. The CPR regards elimination of underdevelopment and formation of a new international economic order as the direct continuation of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and exploitation and oppression of some peoples by others, and a direct continuation of the class struggle between rich and poor on the world scale. But aside from this essential political aspect, it must be said that the world economic crisis can be resolved only in a context of the socioeconomic progress of all countries of the world and the development of the entire community of nations on the path of modern civilization. Accelerated socioeconomic development of the third-world countries and formation of the new international economic order would place those countries' vast resources in international circulation and incorporate most of the world's population as consumers and producers of material goods and civilization in the international cycle of production and consumption.

Some foreign works maintain that the new world economic order has just one chance of success, namely the elimination of capitalism, which styles itself the only correct approach to the problem, the true class one. But they overlook the fact that this reasoning inevitably leads to an insoluble dilemma: Either we condemn the poor countries to continued poverty until capitalism disappears, or we admit that the problem is so acute that it can no longer be put off, and then we convey the impression that we are somehow suggesting that the capitalist system should be suppressed from outside. Therefore we either abandon the position of revolutionary, class support of the poor, wronged and dominated countries or we alter the principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems at a time when the whole structure of world security is based upon its logic. Romania's conception of the new order relies upon the interest of all states regardless of social systems in preventing aggravation of the world crisis and mitigating its destructive effects, and also upon the ability of the vast forces for progress to restrain the imperialist neocolonial policy and to lend a new and more equitable course to international economic and political relations.

Nicolae Ceausescu says that in defining the present period we must also bear the fact in mind that there is a new and profound interdependence in the international division of labor among countries with different economies and social systems. The socialist countries' economies form an integral part of the world economy, and the problems that arise in the latter, including the economic crisis, also affect them in one way or another. The socialist system cannot be separated from the world economy or the international division of labor. The theory of

the socialist market's independence of the capitalist market is a pure invention which is unfortunately still reflected in some textbooks. The socialist economy must be regarded as interdependent and interacting with the capitalist economy and with that of the third world as well in the context of the world economy. Meanwhile any realistic account of the situation must stress the fact that the developed capitalist countries still play an important part in the world economy despite the very bad effects of the crisis, and therefore it is necessary to develop collaboration with them. The world economic crisis cannot be resolved by either side in isolation but only by their combined efforts.

Romania's conception of the nature of the present period also includes its principled stand on the third-world countries as an inseparable component of the international anti-imperialist front. Seeing in the third world a prime factor in the struggle for democratic international relations and new principles of equality and mutual respect among nations, the CPR rejects the division of the developing countries into progressive and unprogressive countries according to options expressed by their representatives concerning their future orientation toward socialism or according to the spheres of influence to which they belong at a given moment. The main objective of these states in the present stage is to develop their productive forces as a basis for socioeconomic progress and for progressive revolutionary reforms as well. These states are now in various stages of development. Some of them, especially in Africa, have just become independent nations, establishing or consolidating their independent national states. A revolutionary policy calls for strengthened solidarity with these countries and support to them for complete elimination of imperialist and neocolonial domination and for independent development as an essential for firm options to take the noncapitalist route and to prepare for the advance to socialism. This policy must be promoted both by the socialist countries and by the international communist and workers movement, and especially by the working class parties in the developed capitalist countries.

Accordingly there are a number of reasons why our period can no longer be defined merely as transitional from capitalism to socialism but, as Nicolae Ceausescu has demonstrated, it is also a period of the peoples' struggle for liberation in defense of their national existence, sovereignty and independence against the policy of imperialist neocolonial domination and a period of struggle to eliminate underdevelopment and division of the world into rich and poor and for a new world economic order, and of struggle against the policy of force and threat of force, allotment of spheres of influence and interference in internal affairs and for establishment of international relations on new principles.

#### Threat of Nuclear War Changes the Criteria

And finally, for a complete and comprehensive description of the present period it would also be necessary to consider its definition as a period of nuclear armaments and the threat of nuclear war. In analyzing fully and in depth the policy of nuclear armament and its serious consequences for the whole international climate, the CPR secretary general described the present period as the most serious and dangerous one in mankind's history and emphasized the overwhelming role of this element of the picture of the contemporary period. He pointed out that overcoming this end-condition, the danger of outbreak of nuclear war, requires review of the criteria for evaluating the problems of the period. The evaluation must begin with the premise that there will be no winners but only losers in

a nuclear war, and that such a war's destruction will not be limited to any state, any social class, or any political party. It will suddenly strike all humanity and threaten the human species itself, and all social systems and the bearers of all ideologies will burn in its flames indiscriminately, so that regardless of who starts it, it will be a war of suicidal assassins. In a nuclear war the criteria of class struggle, social system and ideology lose all significance and become inoperative entirely. It is a completely new problem for mankind. The contemporary world is called upon to prevent nuclear war above and beyond class distinctions, social systems and ideologies, the chief problem being to unite all to eliminate the causes of the nuclear danger and nuclear weapons. Accordingly the claim that the mass movement for peace in the West has taken clearly class positions is not only absurd but also a factor for its dissolution and an obstacle to its broadest possible unity. The view that atomic bombs can be considered those of death or of life depending upon the social system to which they belong is still current in the international propaganda arsenal, however frightening it may be. When there is a vast potential for nuclear weapons, nuclear armament can no longer be considered necessary by one side or another. Continuing the spiral of nuclear armament cannot be justified for any reason, neither for one's own security nor for the sake of world peace. Conveying the idea of security as a political smokescreen for the nuclear armaments race only misleads public opinion. Intensification of the armaments race not only fails to enhance security but rapidly and progressively lowers it to zero, so that the argument only misleads the peoples to the effect that they can defend themselves from a nuclear attack whereas actually there are no means of defense. Concealing the imminent disaster from the peoples in case of a nuclear war, as well as the fact that no interests of any kind can be served any longer by it, is something difficult to describe. Romania's position is that the chief possessors of the world nuclear potential have no right to deal with this crucial problem without consulting the opinions of the other states and peoples. The nuclear era excludes strictly bilateral policies and the right of the so-called "atomic club" to decide the fate of world peace. At present the problems of nuclear armament or disarmament should be openly discussed by the whole community of nations of the world, whether or not they have nuclear weapons, because all humanity will suffer the tragic consequences wherever such a war breaks out or between whom it is waged.

It is far from my intention to exhaust the rage of theories for which the CPR and its secretary general have made theoretical supplements, in-depth studies and renovations of substance. And other subjects would also open up interesting prospects for discussion such, for example, as the relationship between existence and awareness and between the objective and subjective in socialism, the dialectics of the transformation of quantitative accumulations to a new and better quality in the revolutionary process, the relationships between ideology and economics, between ideology and politics, and between politics and culture, the face of the fully developed socialist society, anticipation of some features of communism, and so many others. What I should like to add is merely that it is the duty of the social disciplines in education to clear their own ground of refuse, which unfortunately still persists at points, and that too not in a cursory way by adding a sentence or a suitable quotation to a chapter that is outmoded in substance, but by rebuilding the whole in the light of the advances in party ideology and using all the bricks of revolutionary dialectics for every theoretical structure. And finally, it should be noted that the party secretary general requires the corps of teachers and researchers in the social sciences not just to

passively consider the baggage of ideas and theories in documents but to militate for their further development and enrichment, to improve the theoretical heritage, to enhance the material power of the idea in socialist construction, and to prepare the young generations to enable them to find rational and correct answers to the endless problems of the social practice of today and tomorrow.

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YUGOSLAVIA

STOJANOVIC CALLS FOR ADHERENCE TO DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 21 Apr 84 p 10

[Interview with Nikola Stojanovic, secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY, by Joza Druker: "Who Has Forgotten Democratic Centralism and Why"]

[Text] On the occasion of his recent stay in our republic, the secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY Nikola Stojanovic conversed at length with journalists and editors of OSLOBODJENJE on the current ideological and political problems and tasks of communists in carrying out the Long-Range Program of Economic Stabilization. In this interview for OSLOBODJENJE, prepared by the editor of our Belgrade correspondents' bureau, Joza Druker, Nikola Stojanovic first responded to this question:

[Question] At the 12th and most recent meeting of the Central Committee of the LCY, it was said that we have still not progressed very far from supporting the implementation of the Long-Range Program of Economic Stabilization verbally and in principle, especially when it comes to radical changes in development strategy, in economic management, respect for economic laws and market criteria, in relationships to work, social resources, consumption. How would you explain this lag?

[Answer] The appraisal is accurate. I would warn, however, that one should not equate it with opinions that the program of economic stabilization is on the whole not being implemented, or that nothing has been done. There are many places which have been implemented beyond merely talking about this document, although there are also those which have not.

However, we must say that we have still not gone deeply and decisively into the processes of essential changes. The myth that we need only work a little better and a little more--and there are conceptions like this--is very harmful and paralyzing. Of course we can work better and harder, and we must make this change with respect to work, but we are still not solving the problem of stabilization in any sort of radical way. Implementing the Long-Range Program of Economic Stabilization demands many fundamental changes--we must alter much of our own personal awareness and behavior, our understanding of economics, our relationship to work, etc. Experience convinces us more and more that we are weakest here and that it is difficult for us to break out of our old inertia.

## Development of Self-Management--First Matter of Concern

[Question] Does this mean that we will have to be more decisive in freeing ourselves of some of our mistakes and illusions?

[Answer] All sorts of things have set in as negative phenomena accompanying inflation and destabilization. We look at the principle of equality in a distorted way, the leveling of salaries appears as a consequence. Some have felt, it has become profitable for them, that one can live and make money at the expense of the whole; here we have what we might call "fishing in troubled waters," we have people casting blame on someone else, even the erroneous idea of socialism as a society without conflict. It is a big mistake, and a harmful one, to think that today we can reduce consumption within realistic limits in our country, or that the work of no institution is endangered, that the number employed in administration is not being decreased.

The greatest mistake, however, is made when it is thought that strengthening the material position of associated labor is something that should be left for better times. Or the consciousness and illusion that the direction of the subjective forces, by itself alone, can solve social problems, while the laws of social development are ignored; that everything depends only on the will of the people, that everything can easily take place in a revolution if only the people want it. We must change all of these conceptions if we want to achieve the tasks we have set before ourselves at the 12th LCY Congress and in the Long-Range Program of Economic Stabilization. Otherwise, we will find ourselves in a situation with still greater and more complex contradictions.

Because of all this, we must turn resolutely in the direction of self-management democracy, to that which more specifically means workers', class-oriented self-management. This process, this motor, must gain its own acceleration in a meaningful way, because without this we will not be able to eliminate the essential causes which have led to this unfavorable situation. The most important tasks in this regard devalue, in my opinion, on the LCY, which has not directly concerned itself enough with these questions. The LCY must concern itself much more with the development of self-management social relations, with the democratization of relations in society on the basis of self-management, with the ideological and operative preparation of members for the struggle the goal of which is to make further progress in achieving the vision of development which is based on the Program of the LCY, the constitution, and Communities [ZUR] of Associated Labor, and on the Long-Range Program of Economic Stabilization. In this way it will best contribute on a regular basis in providing answers to the questions which life imposes on us. Only the LCY can mobilize the creative forces of the working class and the entire population, with the influence of communists together with the working class and working people, on the problems in the institutions of the system, because in this way the battle for stabilization becomes the real, vital concern of every working person and citizen.

## Stabilization Will not Tolerate Encapsulation

[Question] Are we doing this? We are thinking above all of the LCY.

[Answer] There are, of course, many examples, because both where we are and what we have done under these complex conditions are the result of the consciousness and the efforts of the working class and the working people. It did not come only in and of itself. Where the subjective forces have been influential in the correct manner in this direction, the results have been much better, and even the problems which arise are solved faster and on a more long-term basis. It is apparent that, considered on the whole, the LCY must influence and contribute to a much greater extent and be more decisive in this direction in order to reconcile its role as the vanguard force of the working class with the present historical moment in the struggle for socialist self-management, in order for it to be at the level of the historical moment. The next plenum of the Central Committee of the LCY will be concerned with these questions.

[Question] We know that interests are often contradictory. Where does one place oneself, and how does one act in this regard?

[Answer] Naturally, this is determined by the logic of circumstances. In spite of this, differences in interests in carrying out the program are distinct and because of this the program of stabilization demands a change of position on the part of many people. It does not tolerate the maintenance of many relationships outgrown from the point of view of development, relationships which are spasmodically defended in many circles; it does not endure encapsulation of any kind. Opposed to stabilization in various ways are those whose economic position is independent of the principle of distribution according to work, and who are better off than others. Those with this consciousness, and all those whose social power is being reduced to the advantage of the power of the working class and working people, will resist the program.

Since the problems we encounter in society are always the problems of the party itself, it means that at the same time we must carry out the battle within the party itself for its ideological and operational preparation for work in carrying out the system; it means that we mobilize everything and direct it towards realizing the program of economic stabilization. This is the only way one can work out a self-management synthesis, a synthesis of communal interest--proceeding from diverse interests which are present naturally by means of a pluralism of self-management interests--and strengthen the productive might and total creative power of our peoples and nationalities--of the Yugoslav socialist self-management commonwealth.

Moreover, the problem does not lie in the existence of different interests but in the efficiency and readiness of all organized subjective forces to reconcile these interests in a self-management way, to transform them by means of common interest into the driving force of further development for our society.

#### Creative Approach to Responsibilities

[Question] How prepared are we to unite forces, to contend together with all these problems which are obviously large, but which are also shared problems?

[Answer] Sometimes one comes to the conclusion that there are many who do not know how large and complex the processes are we are dealing with, how radical and profound they are. From this awareness comes the ubiquitous illusion that we will "somehow survive this," as if the problems have no connection with our behavior, as if one need only wait for time to pass and the economic organism will recover by itself. This is harmful for our situation and our relationships, to the same extent, I would say, as the spreading of defeatism and fear in the face of large problems and duties. As if, in this regard, one wishes to forget that some organizations must be closed which have not found a place in the market or in development; that we must close some organizations of associated labor which are outside the area of material production, which in the reduction of consumption within real limits cannot be found on the list of priorities of social needs, at least at the present time; that the ratio of those employed in administration to those in production must be changed in favor of those in production; that we must repudiate many of our practices which are not founded on real relationships or the planned resolutions of society. We will have to stop supporting much of this, and in all these areas, from the standpoint of the positions of some parts of society, and even the positions of individuals, there will be some resistance. I do not see that this can be avoided, nor that it should be.

The battle in this respect is carried out to a great extent in society and in the LCY. I would say that some preliminary results are being achieved. Obviously what has been achieved does not approximate what is actually needed.

The Central Committee of the LCY and its Presidium is directly concerned with these questions to the greatest extent possible. We have a program, we must be creative in carrying it out. We are late in working out and implementing the first phase of the program of economic stabilization. This is a major problem today. We should allow neither time nor other quarrels to take the edge off the battle for stabilization.

At the last meeting of the Central Committee of the LCY, outside opposition was clearly demonstrated in some parts of society and in the LC implementation of decisions and the settlement of what had been ascertained. The fact that economic problems are often considered at meetings of the Central Committee of the LCY is a result of the persistent insistence of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY that we concern ourselves on a permanent basis in the LC with analyzing the implementation of established assignments directed at the carrying out of economic stabilization. This question was especially intensified at the 10th meeting of the Central Committee of the LCY. I was convinced at this meeting that a dialogue had begun which had been conducted in the proper manner. The resolutions which we adopted at that time I consider to be extraordinarily significant and up to date. However, in political action, in some environments, they were nevertheless put aside. Certain obstacles kept them from being carried out. The hold-up took place because some people did not adequately comprehend the essence of the resolutions we adopted. However, it is my profound conviction that obstacles were put up consciously in some instances as a form of opposition to the resolutions of the 10th meeting.

Because of this, we again held a meeting of the Central Committee. And in spite of everything, it could not be said our discussions at that meeting adequately dealt with things like who is carrying out assignments, what are one's responsibilities for the situation and the processes, and what should be done to intensify the struggle for implementing the Long-Range Program of Stabilization. The present responsibility and requirement of all components of the LC to submit an "account" to the unified organization of the LCY or to its Central Committee about how and to what extent they have been faithfully implementing a unified policy must be far greater. It seems that some have given up doing this. These "practices" must be changed quickly. This is a key question in the application of principles of democratic centralism in the LCY and of the present time in society as a whole.

#### Giving an Accounting to the LCY

[Question] Why is it like this, is it not an abnormal situation in the LCY, and are there prospects that in the near future we will overcome this and get everything in gear, or will we only go on discussing things in principle?

[Answer] Things are not the same everywhere. Regarding the execution of decisions of organs of the LCY in republics and provinces for application of principles, one might say that experiences here are of a positive nature, although they should probably be advanced further, especially from the point of view of the further development of democratic relations. However, if one is talking about the execution of decisions by organs of the LCY, we cannot be satisfied with the situation. That is why I am convinced that under the present circumstances we have to discuss democratic centralism as specifically and as vitally as possible. Why, for example, directly in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism, do we not provide for carrying out democratic discussions on the ways in which we can achieve adopted policy, why do we not provide for giving an accounting to the LCY, as the unified vanguard of the working class of Yugoslavia, why do we not provide for establishing who is in disagreement and why, and who is observing adopted resolutions and carrying them out? If we learn that they are unrealistic, we change them. This means I am also in favor of recognizing persistence in implementing the principles of democratic centralism through relationships to the vital questions of the working class, working people, and citizens.

By further strengthening this type of approach, we will also implement more faithfully the policy for which we have opted. By so doing, mere discussion in principle about many phenomena present in the LC, about federalization in the LC and the like, will be outgrown and will probably become superfluous. In this way we will most readily go beyond the practice, recently become most widespread, of only bringing up questions opened up which we have, so to speak, agreed upon just yesterday, and little is said about implementing agreed-upon policy. In many cases this is much like the type of opposition to rendering accounts which have to do with the execution of adopted policy. However, while we do not have a situation in which accounts are rendered to a sufficient extent, components of the LC are obviously not considered to be responsible to the LCY leadership, that is, the Central Committee of the LCY, to submit a report and to be responsible for implementing mutually adopted positions based on the principles of democratic centralism. That is why

inclinations of the Federation are present in the LC, regardless of who says what about this.

It is obviously not enough to designate the question of responsibility in the LC only as an important question of the social moment. We in the Central Committee of the LCY must see what the realistic conditions are in which what has been agreed upon does not become implemented, or how to open up the processes so that we can get beyond this situation. In my opinion, the problem of responsibility should always be connected with the struggle for the functioning of the institutions in the system. Moreover, I am not excluding the significance of individual, personal responsibility. On the contrary.

One often hears that we need to see who is responsible for this or that, we need to replace him and everything will be different. It is understood that it is necessary to put this possibility into practice, but it is not a good idea to reduce it only to the problem of responsibility. One must also do this, but one also must energetically act to eliminate the causes. I see a way out of the situation in concerning ourselves above all with how the institutions of the system function, whether they do what they are supposed to do according to law and the constitution, in preparing them to be able to bear the responsibility in a competent manner for all the functions which are their constitutional responsibility. It is well known who has which jurisdiction. In this way it will be easier for us to become aware of the conduct and responsibility of each person, who is not able to find refuge behind the institutions, but who will be able to act less and less under these conditions, outside of the institutions whose members they are.

In these conditions, the direction of social action will be turned toward the further development of self-management and the preparation of institutions of the self-management system, and individually we will all be more subject to criteria of work and creativity, and therefore we will also be convinced that results depend on us, on our work and conduct to a great extent, and not on what is thought about us and our work individually. In other words, the process of increasing responsibility for the tasks undertaken will be opened in the proper manner, and, it goes without saying, personal responsibility will also be increased in this context. Together, this will significantly narrow the room for irresponsible behavior.

#### How Nationalism Is Maintained

[Question] Economic difficulties and overstrain usually give rise to or stir up nationalism and an increase in nationalistic forces.

[Answer] Everyday life confirms this for us. However, not only should we not exclude the fact that in the struggle for implementing stabilization, for overcoming old relationships we come face to face with different forms and capacities of nationalism, but indeed we are witnesses to the reality that even certain communists become advocates of nationalism, its captives, and so on. One must be especially aware of this and we must fight against it much more energetically. That is why we talked about nationalism at the 10th meeting of the LCY Central Committee as a problem from which not even the

leaders of the LC are immune. We must look at social development and its laws through this prism as well, it seems to me, in order to discover how it all is maintained, and where this social evil grows, so that we might more easily and readily get rid of it.

[Question] While we're talking about nationalism in the area of economics, could you say something more about its protagonists, about what they, in reality, support, from what sort of positions they have emerged?

[Answer] Who are its protagonists? Well, everyone who acts as if they are against self-management, against brotherhood and unity and equality in the broadest sense, and people, and nations, and nationalities, and republics and provinces. Therefore, their positions are clear, because they are anticlass, antisocialistic. They support preserving acquired monopolistic positions or they fight to acquire them, and every attempt to change a little in the direction of progressing forward in the development of self-management is dramatized and wrongfully politicized. Unfortunately, not even communists are immune from this sort of behavior. Even within the LC there are ideological problems and occurrences which can be classified on the continuum of unilateral politicalization of some environments in Yugoslavia. Of course, this is done under the slogan of self-management and the struggle against statism and centralism, but all these subterfuges become transparent very quickly. During discussions on systemic decisions which have priority, fundamental organization of associated labor is often underlined, but I must stress, it is made to function in such a way that it is practically excluded from the entire self-management mechanism. The manifestation of this "self-management" is the attempt to defend interests of their environment, "decisionmaking in the name of the working man," but independently of what is happening outside of his basic organization. On a practical level, this is a group ownership relationship in its blatant configurations which factually ignore constitutional determinations. The protagonists of such a concept think that they can do what they want to do in "their" basic organization of associated labor, and all this in the name of the power of the working people. When both those who behave in these ways and those who support these theses are examined a little deeper, it does not take much effort to discover that behind all of this is basically a technocratic-bureaucratic consciousness and behavior, which has its point of departure, whether it is wanted this way or not, in defending the interests of their own milieu, their republic, and province, outside of constitutional commonality.

A similar process, at least from the standpoint of the ultimate result, occurs when under the guise of the struggle against disunity, division, and isolation to constricted limits and the struggle against group ownership relations, a centralist-statist concept of the organization of society is offered in the name of "efficiency." It is understood that what is then taken into account is who will have the final say or whom this type of relationship will help the most in gaining a monopoly position.

And, objectively, there is nationalism here, everyone thinks at least a little about it and observes the surrounding area and the movements and sees where he is headed and does not move closer to nationalist positions. Of course, the

LC must analyze these phenomena and call them by the proper name and use specific language understandable to everyone, especially the working man. The LC must be especially prepared to oppose these phenomena in the proper manner and within the proper time.

None of those who are inclined to manifest these tendencies will openly say that they are against self-management. On the contrary, everything they do and plan, everything they support, is done under the guise of the struggle for self-management. Unfortunately, there are also communists who line up in these two camps, offering concepts which are in accord with neither the constitution nor with ZUR, and both one and the other in the end have the same point of departure.

#### LC--Right Place for the Right Words

[Question] You say even some communists have joined this group. How did this come about?

[Answer] The basic reason--although it is not the only one--at least as far as the intensity of these phenomena go, I see today in the fact that the LC has not been successful enough in directing its activity and the activity of the rest of the subjective forces primarily in the direction of the further development of real constitutional relationships which would mean a further affirmation of brotherhood and unity and a genuine self-management commonwealth which can only control and eliminate tendencies towards separatism and bureaucratic centralism as manifested forms of nationalism in economics, and not only in the economic area.

Something else is also present here; this is, to what extent we in the LCY have faithfully conformed to norms and principles, to what extent we are ready, if we think that something is wrong, to open up a dialogue about all of this at the right place and in the right manner. For communists, the right place is first of all in the LCY, and the right manner is openness, sincerity, communist dialogue based on a unified platform, and specificity. Unfortunately, instead of this--when we lack it as a way of preparation for action, at least when it is necessary--we allow others, even hostile forces, to manipulate us. In these cases, we mutually and publicly discuss who is in the right, forgetting that in this way we have virtually been drawn into a group with a anti-self-management and anticomunist make-up.

There are norms in the LCY to which we must conform. Especially when we're talking about the leading forces in society. Otherwise, the question might be posed as to whether we are members of a unified organization. We cannot be if everyone is on "their own battlefield" at the same time, unilaterally justifying and interpreting the policy of the LC, and observing and being seriously concerned about phenomena in this way. As members of the unified LCY organization, we are all equally bound by the LCY positions and program. To be even more specific and clear, all of us are equally bound to both the resolutions and the positions of the Central Committee of the LCY. Of course, a real need exists within the LCY and also within the Central Committee of the LCY, to carry on discussions and to fight battles in the process of creating policy and positions. The question is only how to guarantee that

this is done in accordance with the LCY Statutes. I am convinced that we must observe the regulations of the LCY Statutes in everything we do to a significantly greater extent. It is as if we have forgotten them. There is nothing for us to theorize or philosophize about. Our rules of behavior are familiar, only let us be sincere communists and look after one another, and above all see whether we are respecting the rules. I don't think we respect them enough.

[Question] Among the problems burdening the LC and tormenting many communists is the one concerning opportunism.

[Answer] Opportunism in the LC is one of the greatest and deepest problems; this is precisely why I think that, above all, we must try to perceive where opportunism arises. Its existence in the LC above all points out the problem of responsibility of the LC leadership. Although people often try to present opportunism as the "inability of the membership to carry out the line and the program of the party," this is not only inaccurate, but it is addressed at the wrong side from the point of view of responsibility. I think, therefore, that it is the responsibility of the LC leadership, by ideological-political and operative preparation, by the method and content of its work, to create a proper climate and to take action to overcome this situation. This is all the more important because there is a lot of opportunism in the leadership structures of the LC as well and it is also reflected in the membership. It is especially important to keep this in mind.

Only by the creative actions of the LC can we be successful in changing the social climate in which opportunism originates. It is necessary to change the social conditions which make it possible for opportunists to be well accepted in life, so to speak. Opportunism has even become a special "virtue" in conditions in which, within party relationships, only agreement and confirmation of somebody's opinions and positions is sought, without prior democratic dialogue. In conditions in which self-initiative and the free presentation of opinions in the search for the best decisions are not encouraged, one can again question whether the main culprit for opportunistic behavior is the LC member who is behaving opportunistically, or whether the social climate in which a person becomes opportunistic is to blame. Without exempting anyone from responsibility for opportunistic behavior, I am more inclined to suggest that we direct political action primarily at changing the social conditions which make it possible for opportunism to exist, and even to become a "virtue." Accomplishing this is a huge task and a great responsibility for the LC leadership.

We know who has which problem in our relationships. In order for us to get out of this situation, it is necessary for all of us to do what we are required to do according to the statutes and the program. However, the major tasks are those before the LC leaders, and especially, and first and foremost, before the LCY Central Committee and Presidium of the Central Committee; they must do everything that this moment in time demands, and it demands specific moves and far better results in carrying out the first phase of the program of stabilization. In order to achieve this, we must be more decisive, and what is especially important, we must be more unified. We must acknowledge this unity

in practice. We will certainly, by a concurrence of circumstances, debate even further in a way which either is or appears to be generalized, and to debate the issues that communists and working people are justifiably angry about. But this is our reality. I don't think that either ready formulas or solutions exist. The fundamental solution is to struggle even more decisively and thus to engage all members of our society with a self-management determination and at the same time, with respect to specific programs, differentiate those which disagree with the socialist self-management, Titoist course of development of our society. Therefore, it is necessary that we in the LCY Central Committee and Presidium of the Central Committee, as well as in its political and executive organ, raise ourselves to a far greater extent to the level of the complexity of the situation, problems, and responsibilities which stand before the LC as the political leadership between the two congresses. We will have to arrive at a new standard of excellence as soon as possible which provokes a greater degree of operational unity and creative activity of communists in the working class and with the working class, in the population and with the population, in solving their specific immediate and long-term concerns of vital interest. Let us contribute much faster and to a far greater extent in having the working class be the fundamental force of decisionmaking, because stabilization is its immediate and vital concern.

I am convinced that we can do this, we must and will do it. Nothing in revolutionary transformations comes easily, not even this.

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CENTRAL COMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS ON ECONOMIC REFORM

Belgrade SOCIJALIZAM in Serbo-Croatian No 2, Feb 84 pp 275-281

[Article by Miroslav Stojanovic: "How Ready Are We for Reforms"]

[Text] (Related to the discussions in the LCY Central Committee about implementing the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program)

What is preventing us from carrying out the reforms we have quite democratically, but heartily and firmly, agreed on?

The reference is to the reforms contained in the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program, over which there have been many question marks and much hesitation and covert or overt questioning, almost from the moment when it was adopted by plebiscite.

At the 9th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee (25 July 1983), in which the stabilization program was given strong support, emphasis was rightly put on the democratic aspect, which consisted of the way in which it was prepared and the way in which it was finally adopted.

Although under the conditions of such a profound economic crisis, a crisis whose dimensions have long been dramatic, our organized subjective forces did not opt for hasty solutions. A deep awareness that the old paths do not offer a way out of this kind of situation. Shortcuts, new errors and delusions would lead us into a still more drastic situation. "Cosmetic touchup" and moves compelled by necessity were also renounced. The program had and does have an ambitious goal--not only to survive, but to live in a new way and to leave the crossroads where we have been by a path of greater certainty and more stable development.

Why, then, has a program created and adopted in that kind of democratic way not been carried out, not at least in the way or to the extent it should have been? The last several meetings of the LCY Central Committee have, to put it simply, been devoted to the search for an answer to that question.

The news reporters gave importance of a particular kind to what seemed to be a statistical datum at the last meeting, the 12th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee (28 February 1984). The reference is to the fact that the highest

party forum has discussed the economic situation at 6 of the 12 plenums it has held. At first there would seem to be nothing more natural than that. Confronted by a profound crisis shaking our society, with consequences which are felt to such a degree in our lives, the LCY Central Committee indeed had no more urgent business or more important topic. Unfortunately it is not possible to explain the frequency of discussions of economic topics, at least not fully, by that fact and that awareness.

Other reasons and occasions were communicated to the public with undisguised resignation and asperity: the foremost questions at the 12th meeting were vacillation, hesitation, irresponsibility and inconsistency in implementing what had been agreed on and indeed even the Economic Stabilization Program itself.

The immediate occasion and reason for holding the 12th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee was a very practical one, though "with obvious political and social dimensions." The reference is to a decision of the Federal Executive Council on a temporary price freeze and the attitude toward that decision.

The meeting did no more than take note of what was already so obvious even before it: that decision had been scoffed at wholesale. This had been done by basic organizations of associated labor, but also by sociopolitical communities, at both the "lower" and "higher" levels. This was, it was stated at the meeting of the Central Committee, a direct blow to the policy of economic stabilization, to the flows of reproduction and to the standard of living, especially the standard of living of those parts of society with scant earnings. There was a danger of its becoming the most important economic, political and social welfare problem in the country. That was indeed the reason for such fierce reactions on the part of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, the Socialist Alliance, the trade unions and the SFRY Assembly.

It was the assessment of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, when it prepared the meeting of the Central Committee, that the struggle for implementing the resolutions adopted at the 9th and 10th meetings had to be made urgent and more emphatic once again, through the force and authority possessed by the high forum of the LCY.

What drove the Presidium to that step?

Its assessment was that the awareness of the need for radical changes in development strategy, in the conditions and criteria for the conduct of economic activity, in the attitude toward work, toward consumption and toward social assets, in respect for economic laws and market criteria was in many people's minds "expressed mainly in the sphere of discussions as to principle and verbal support."

A warning was issued that consciousness of the social, economic and political-ideological significance of those changes, of the fact that the further development of the social revolution is dependent upon and related to the ability and willingness of our society to consistently realize the basic goals of the Stabilization Program on time, is changing very slowly.

Petar Matic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, who delivered the introductory address at the 12th meeting, even mentioned as an illustration in that context the datum that in 6 of its 12 meetings the LCY Central Committee had been discussing socioeconomic issues and stabilization policy.

"The vacillation and resistance to accepting and carrying the burden of economic stabilization are obvious and ambiguous, and it is not easy to overcome them," Matic warned.

How is one to account for this? It was noted at the meeting of the Central Committee that much more time and labor is still being spent to preserve vested positions, to justify monopoly positions in distribution and consumption, and less in efforts to change the position of associated labor by strengthening its influence on economic policy and on the conditions for the conduct of economic activity.

The resolutions on all this were adopted, incidentally, back at the 3d Meeting of the Central Committee. Why have they had to be reiterated at this point?

To whatever degree it was anticipated, the answer given to this question at the 12th meeting was as dramatic as it was direct. In the League of Communists and in society we confront a crisis in the implementation of our own views and decisions and quite widespread manifestations of inconsistency.

Inconsistency and obstruction of views and decisions already adopted constitute one of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia with respect to its ideological and political capability and its ability to act.

Speaking about the Stabilization Program at the 9th Meeting of the Central Committee, Dragoslav Markovic, chairman of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, especially emphasized the fact that "at this level of social development this represents our common awareness and the views and interests which we have emphasized. And it should be said that one of the document's unique attributes is that it expresses the existing realities and the pluralism of interests in self-management in our community that objectively exist."

Even in such moments it was, of course, assumed that there would be resistance and vacillation, but it was also assumed that there would be resolute opposition to opportunism and disposition to compromise. The resolutions of the 9th meeting emphasized: "To carry out this task we must be united, determined and capable, since there is no other acceptable alternative for the future development of the production relations of socialist self-management, for the further comprehensive and stable development of our socialist federal community.

"The League of Communists of Yugoslavia must grow stronger and become more united in this struggle, it must equip itself to perform the tasks which arise out of the Program and out of its role in the system of socialist self-management democracy, so that it is able to constantly open up prospects to

Yugoslav society and create the necessary unity among all the social factors for self-management in the struggle to conquer new space of man's freedom and creativity."

Strong words and indisputably accurate assessments were pronounced on that occasion to the effect that our revolution is at a crossroad and that implementation of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program is a "test that will not be repeated."

All of this also led to that vigorous stand that it would be necessary to break down the major obstacles and resistance that would arise out of the effort to hold on to the present position of individuals and groups, certain segments of associated labor, that would arise out of the inertia of what had been inherited, out of ideological errors and conceptions incompatible with socialist ethics and the real conditions in which the ideological and political battle is being waged to carry out the Stabilization Program.

The circumstances which followed compelled the Central Committee at the very next meeting, the 9th, to repeat some of the most important statements of position. This was a warning that difficulties had arisen even in adoption of the first measures to implement the Economic Stabilization Program. What had been suggested had in fact come to pass, though, to be sure, not on such a scale--resistance had begun to be offered to the measures which affected vested interests and rights acquired in the past.

Under the burden of the accumulated problems and the initial resistance the Program was threatened with the danger of vacillation and hesitation about doing what was necessary and what was judged back at the 9th meeting to be an achievement of a democratic, broad-based and firm agreement.

The Central Committee warned that it "deemed it impermissible to carry the discussion back to the questions on which positions had been adopted in the Program.

"That kind of behavior, especially on the part of party members in responsible social positions, is in direct opposition to the political-ideological commitments and policy of the League of Communists. For that reason those offering resistance to the consistent implementation, application and further refinement of the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program must be made politically accountable."

The explicitness of the new resolutions (from the 9th meeting) by and large reflected the explicitness of a large number of speakers at this plenum, which has come to be well known. However, in its way it also reflected the interest of the broader public, which has been following the unambiguous signs of vacillation and procrastination in carrying out the reforms with a certain amount of bewilderment.

Emphasizing that there is no departing from the course that has been adopted "even by a millimeter," Nikola Stojanovic, secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, said that in a community like ours "no policy can be

built on partial interests and interests of the moment of any member of that community. No one has the right in that community to pursue his personal interests at the expense of the equal rights of others and at the expense of the common interest."

We knew when we adopted the Program, member of the SFRY State Presidency Petar Stambolic advised, "that everyone would not be satisfied with every position taken in it. But we also knew that everyone would 'gain' something and 'lose' something, and that by carrying out the task that had been set we would ultimately all gain in the long run, since we would get out of the difficulties and stabilize our economic development. Now some people want only to gain and nothing to lose in the domain of their day-to-day interests, at the price of threatening the long-range goals of economic stabilization."

Stambolic was also explicit in his observation that "this is one of the consequences of the augmented statism of the republics and provinces. That is why the Central Committee must have the strength to oppose it."

In any case, several speakers of the 10th meeting raised that "question of the strength" of the Central Committee. Admiral Tihomir Vilovic was specific. He proposed that the Central Committee analyze the pattern of its own effort, since that forum, Vilovic feels, "is neither effective nor efficient enough."

The political disposition that has been created and is now being created has also been influenced in large part by the fact that people are coming to believe more widely that there is a lack of strength and boldness for any very resolute political struggle.

"The working people and citizens are beginning to harbor a serious doubt," it was said at the 12th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, "as to our willingness, ability and consistency in implementing in practice the policy, laws and decisions agreed on through self-management. Our indecisiveness and inconsistency, which has been displayed in various situations, is weakening confidence in the institutions of the government and society and in the leadership of the League of Communists and of the country as a whole."

It turns out to be possible to change the situation at this moment in line with and in the direction of the basic social commitments if the following preconditions are met: along with decisive implementation of the Stabilization Program a strengthening of the material foundation of socialist self-management and closing the gap in what we have come to proverbially refer to as the discrepancy between words and deeds.

Examples in which "experience is not following the commitments and decisions" were also mentioned at the 12th meeting. Most of the talk was about what happened after the decision of the Federal Executive Council on the temporary price freeze.

Numerous organizations of associated labor and a majority of sociopolitical communities took part in evading this order--someone said--"with the same

fervor, but also with a low level of social responsibility," "which is a reason for anxiety and concern."

Taking advantage of the opportunity to discuss the extent to which that order of the Federal Executive Council was economically justified, the members of the LCY Central Committee put emphasis on the fact that in an organized community like ours orders and laws must be respected and carried out.

It was emphasized that those responsible for evasion of the order of the Federal Executive Council have not been publicly reproached anywhere, much less punished. This cannot be considered normal, and should be a cause of concern.

In this meeting the Central Committee also warned of the danger that in one segment of society, indeed even in organizations of associated labor, the belief is spreading that "less and less is it work, and more and more is it the appropriation of someone else's work" that brings a larger income.

The assessment was pronounced that it is untenable to believe that responsibility for the country's economic and social stability should be borne by someone else, and not the associated workers and sociopolitical communities, above all the republics and provinces. They are concerned about their rights with good reason, but not to the same degree about their responsibility for the situation and relations in the economy and in society as a whole.

Petar Matic concluded in that connection: "If we continue this way, it could become a major problem for the League of Communists from the standpoint of its responsibility for the country's unity and for the future development of the system of socialist self-management."

Thus a decision, the order of the Federal Executive Council, calculated above all to combat inflation, was shot down even before it had begun to take hold. This had the result that instead of a struggle for a higher standard and greater economic efficiency in production, and thereby to perform the tasks in the Stabilization Program, a feverish race has been started to "treat" the shortcomings and difficulties in the conduct of economic activity by raising prices.

The Central Committee estimated that the most serious consequence of all this is the "seriously shaken confidence of the working people and citizens in the functioning and ability of the institutions of the self-management system. Aside from the political harm, it turns out that we have not even come close to winning the ideological battle to stabilize economic developments and that we lack unity and the necessary responsibility in the country to carry out the resolutions of the League of Communists and the policy jointly agreed on in the Federation."

As a consequence of this entire set of circumstances and the truly difficult conditions for the conduct of economic activity, the reforms have been slowed down. Many organizations of associated labor have come to be shut up more tightly in their own enclaves. In spite of social commitments to the contrary, there has been an increase in administration both in the Federation and also

in the republics and provinces. This has meant augmented statism, bureaucracy and technocracy, with all the consequences which derive therefrom or the nature of our self-management system.

The more zealous chroniclers of our ups and downs have also noted a provincial cause and effect relationship between our faintheartedness and the bureaucratization of society. When there is vacillation about implementing the most important social commitments, a slacking off of action by the League of Communists and the other progressive social forces, various "regional" and ethnic bureaucracy make themselves heard ever more vociferously on the public scene; looking only to themselves, they do not even notice others, and when they are compelled to do so, then they assertively impose their own interest, the momentary interest of "their own" community as the only acceptable one. Progress beyond that interest can be made only by haggling, by negotiation, by methods which are just as alien to self-management as bureaucracy itself.

Which is why the increasingly frequent question addressed to the League of Communists are not a mere verification of its ability to put its heart into the political battles for the commitments which incidentally it itself has encouraged out of a deep belief that they open up prospects, commitments which have won such broad social support. There is certainly a deeper significance here. Under the piling drifts of our dilemmas, vacillation and disagreements a truly aggressive consciousness is swelling up, one which is making an assault on the basic values of the revolution, on self-management and socialism, on brotherhood and unity, and finally on this Yugoslavia, on this kind of Yugoslavia.

Big words, threats and campaigns do not help here. Empty words come back like a boomerang. The force of that aggressive consciousness is in inverse proportion to the stamina and determination of the democratic and progressive forces of society to carry out their own programs, without letting up or vacillating, in concert and effectively.

The sense and purpose of a critical attitude toward our lack of organization, inconsistency and irresponsibility, autarky and divisions, the neglect of economic criteria, voluntarism and improvisation is to eliminate everything that is outside and apart from self-management, everything that is selfish and anachronistic. By keeping that critical line more pure, the League of Communists remains open to critical dialogue, but at the same time it establishes a crystal clear line of demarcation from that other type of criticism, which crops up to contest what is essential in our social commitments.

These demarcations are always extremely important, but especially now. They guarantee that the fronts and people do not mix, that the critical consciousness essentially necessary both to the League of Communists and to self-management is not mixed with caviling and oppositionism. It liberates the energy of those creative and progressive people whose critical word at times falls silent because of the destructive din which is making itself heard. It falls silent precisely when it must not do so.

At the last meeting of the Central Committee, the 12th, there was also discussion of the initial results in implementing the Economic Stabilization Program. Although achieved under extremely difficult circumstances, in spite of much vacillation and resistance, these results are truly encouraging.

The drop in industrial production has been halted, and this is obviously thanks to the enormous efforts which have been made, above all by people in associated labor. Output has even been boosted by a modest, but important, 1.3 percent. Agriculture also achieved good results. More food was produced (wheat purchases of 3.7 million tons were a record), and supply has improved. The economy is turning more and more to production for export. The ratio of exports to imports is higher than ever (82 percent). In 1983 a surplus of about \$300 million was achieved in the balance of payments; this took quite a bit of effort, but obligations to international financial organizations were met on time, and the country's external liquidity was preserved under extremely difficult conditions.

Employment also rose 2 percent last year, which is extremely important. To be sure, this percentage is still too low to mitigate one of our greatest troubles--to diminish the enormous ranks of those waiting for a job, which include many creative and qualified young people who would contribute to the efforts of society to get out of the crisis and to undertake more stable and sounder development, but at the same time even in that area there are suggestions that more can be done and accomplished.

The main burden of all these changes has been borne by the economy. The material position of associated labor has deteriorated, which, combined with the drop in the standard of living, is certainly a disturbing fact in these results, which are undoubtedly encouraging.

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YUGOSLAVIA

PLURALISM OF SELF-MANAGEMENT INTERESTS, SAWPY

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[Article by Marjan Rozic]

[Text] As an association of all the organized socialist forces of society, the Socialist Alliance is not some kind of superorganization, but a form for the democratic organization of initiatives, for concluding agreements and compacts, and for broad social action. All the thinking and aspirations oriented toward socialism and democracy in our society, which are directly expressed in self-managing organizations and communities as well as in sociopolitical and other public organizations should come to expression within it so as to build on that basis a socialist democratic consensus and find practical solutions to various social problems. The very structure of the Socialist Alliance ought to adequately express that diversity and self-management as the life of Yugoslav society. (Kardelj)

1. What Makes the SAWP the Front of the Organized Socialist Forces

Under the impact of the elements of the economic crisis, the multitude of interests and the need for us to consistently implement the constitutional commitments from the standpoint of man's role in the socialization of politics, this question imposes itself more and more: In what sense is the Socialist Alliance a front of the organized and democratic socialist forces, and what are its essential characteristics that make it a front?

SAWP is a front because its existence and activity are based on social ownership and self-management and on the constitutional right and obligation of the workingman to organize himself into various self-managing and political forms in order to exercise power and through self-management to guide overall social development in accordance with the interests of the working class and the goals of the socialist revolution. Not in order to commit himself, by constitutional "directive," to one of the possible parties or to one of the possible political-ideological conceptions, but because his organization to form SAWP is a prerequisite of and interest in his own organized and creative activity to achieve the concrete and creative goals of socialism on the

foundations of self-management. The basic commitment, and incidentally this is difficult to achieve because of the sectarianism in practice, is for there to be room in the Socialist Alliance for all those--and this demonstrates its democratic, libertarian, and humanistic breadth in the pluralism of interests in self-management--who are willing to fight for socialism on the foundations of self-management. This means, then, that the Socialist Alliance is not some alienated political structure or political organization which arises in society in and of itself and lives for itself, but rather that the working people have come together in it in order to commit themselves politically concerning the interests and issues which are a part of their life and work, not according to directives of the forums in the Socialist Alliance. A one-sided approach here would not suit the role and nature of politics in the context of self-management, nor the real needs and interests of the working people. Our working people and citizens are organized in SAWP out of their own need and thereby out of their common needs and out of the broader needs of society, since in that way they can solve the problems in their lives and in the development of society, and that is in fact the essence of our socialist self-managing society--this linkage of the personal interest and the social interest. It is precisely that attribute in the practical activity of SAWP that is not yet sufficiently manifested, and it has a bearing on achievement of the pluralism of interests in self-management.

The Socialist Alliance is also a front with respect to the concept of its programmatic commitment. It seems to me that the following four main directions in the programmatic orientation of the Socialist Alliance are the most essential ones: first, the basic political-ideological commitments contained in the Program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia; second, the constitution and the essential directions of socialist development contained in the constitution; third, the programmatic documents of sociopolitical organizations which are brought together in it and make the Socialist Alliance a front of the organized socialist forces, including the programmatic goals and bylaws of the SAWPY, which contain the lines of strategy and democratic foundations of SAWP's activity as a front of the democratically united people in the system of socialist self-management and delegate relations; and fourth, the immediate interests of the working people in the domain of economic, social and cultural life, and so on, which they realize in their own public organizations and self-managing institutions and which constitute an integral part of the battle for the self-management orientation.

The Socialist Alliance is also a front with respect to the way in which it is organized. It is organized in a specific way. One might speak--provisionally and incompletely--of three specific ways in which it is instituted, in which it has matured and in which the Socialist Alliance has operated as a front of the organized subjective forces.

First, the workers, the working people, young people and veterans--they can all become part of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia directly. Formal membership in that organization is becoming less and less important in development of SAWP, and other elements of its being instituted as a front are manifesting themselves. Man as an individual is not displaced here; on the contrary, he is present in the organization with his interests

and needs, that is, with the action of the working people and citizens brought together in that organization.

Second, all sociopolitical organizations, headed by the League of Communists as the leading political-ideological force, are associated and linked with one another in it. In the Socialist Alliance the League of Communists represents the permanent "red thread" within the front, a kind of compass of cohesion which democratically guides the action of SAWP. Then there are the Federation of Trade Unions, as the most numerous worker organization, which is formed on the principle of work and production, the Socialist Youth League and the Federation of Veterans of the National Liberation War. These are the four sociopolitical organizations which exist and operate in our country as a part of the political system of socialist self-management and which altogether determine the character of the Socialist Alliance as a front of the organized socialist forces.

The third institutional aspect has to do with public organizations and civic associations. In and of themselves they represent a very massive form whereby people come together out of their own interest, and they are very important to the comprehensive activity of SAWP.

The Socialist Alliance is not some kind of "cap" over those organizations. The very fact that they all enter into association to form a front, that they make it up, is expressed in the idea of the Socialist Alliance as a front. Without those organizations there is no "true" Socialist Alliance as a popular front in action.

It is important to point out that the old practice has given rise to development of the bureaucratic conception that this kind of organization of the Socialist Alliance limits the independent activity of every sociopolitical organization and public organization. Precisely the reverse is true. This kind of Socialist Alliance presupposes in our context the complete independence of activity of every sociopolitical or public organization. Indeed that independence is even a condition of its real and creative activity. If every one of these organizations operates independently, in line with its own conception, then it has a need to reach agreement in the Socialist Alliance, to reconcile its programs and views with others, to coordinate and guide efforts, and so on.

Another essential characteristic of the Socialist Alliance as a front is the compact as a specific form of decisionmaking. This presupposes that in the organs of SAWP there is no majority rule for cases in which a majority of the delegations outvote one delegation or those delegations which are in the minority. Decisionmaking procedure is so set up, organized and conceived that the decision is made by democratic consensus and reconciliation of views according to the common views of all the delegations making up the Socialist Alliance as a front. Consensus is the principal road toward agreements, and agreements arrived at democratically and with unity are a condition and an obligation in the interest of unified action in implementing them.

Instead of a verbal repetition of well-known views and restating of political slogans, in the Socialist Alliance action is primary; it is an action that the authentic unity of all the socialist forces occurs, and it is actually through it that it confirms itself as a front. In that way the Socialist Alliance also acquires its own physiognomy as a specific sociopolitical organization. This is, then, a predominantly constructive and democratic commitment in action and in struggle.

Present-day developments in carrying out economic stabilization, with all the dilemmas, contradictions, confrontations and criticism, are more and more politicizing relations among people, emphasizing the need for and interest in involvement, so that it is natural for the working people to show a greater interest in being in SAWP in order to "clarify" the reality of life and to act in pursuing the interests and needs of themselves and thereby of their self-managing communities.

The Socialist Alliance, then, is a front with respect to its place and its activity in the assembly system and entire political system of socialist self-management. It is not a structure over and above the government; neither is it a structure and mechanism which acts as a transmission belt of the government, an integral part of the apparatus of government and the electoral machinery, though there are still remnants of the conception that it might be both one and the other. It should operate within the system--within the delegation, the delegate assembly, the social councils, it should assume responsibility for social development, and indeed also for resolving "minor" issues, and it is a significant cohesive force within the political system. The delegate system, and especially the sociopolitical chambers, is one of the most pronounced examples of this kind of place and responsibility of SAWP in the political system, aside from the other elements which are well known, but underutilized.

The Socialist Alliance is also a front with respect to the diversity of issues, problems and interests which are manifested within it. Given that its orientation in action is toward specific matters, rather than matters of principle, action becomes one of the essential characteristics of the front.

SAWP should have--to simplify a bit--two lines of strategy which constantly crisscross one another. One is to always "hear," "see" and "understand" man's everyday problems, from the most minor to the most complicated. After all, only if it operates in that way is it also a part of man's needs to act on his own to resolve his own problems and those of society; if SAWP does not operate in that way, the workingman will seek other forms of organization and other lines of activity or will give in to spontaneous currents or will embrace the state. The other direction is that SAWP should always be turned toward the essential strategic issues of Yugoslav society's development, should operate as an internal force for brotherhood and unity, as a broad base for achieving the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, so that on that basis an authentic need would arise for self-management consensus in the Federation.

What does SAWP mean and what are its essential characteristics which we must always be mindful of so that at times we will not be carried away by practicalism, so that we will not forget the strategic political-ideological lines of development of society and of the Socialist Alliance itself?

First, within the Socialist Alliance we are taking an essential step toward the socialization of politics and decisionmaking. Stated concretely, we are guaranteeing in this way that politics in the context of self-management is not the business of a forum of elected politicians, but is an organized job of the workingman himself as an organic need of social development. This is a historical step which we are taking. After all, one of the essential characteristics of the contemporary world is that politics are alienated from man and man is being manipulated by politics alienated in that way. Those are the relations which are rising up both from the multiparty system and also from the one-party system.

Second, also a very important thing, is that the Socialist Alliance is contributing in the broadest sense to overcoming the conception of the one-party and multiparty systems as the basis of man's freedom, democracy and social development.

In the one-party system of social relations the role of the communists--the party--is exercised from positions of government power; the working class is interceded for as a protagonist in history; the government, the party and other alienated structures project and pursue its interests, but by an act of transmission and operation on behalf of the class.

We have gone beyond that method, and at the same time we are also abandoning everything that is today characteristic of the West, where through the multiparty system [man] allegedly becomes a protagonist in social development, although this is a game which is not being directed by man, but rather is being directed in the name of man, but in the interest of capital.

But what sort of front of the organized socialist forces is needed by the workingman and a self-management society?

1. A front of democratic and organized socialist forces which does not live in the clouds, in offices and forums, but one that will constantly come forth with new solutions, through everyday and constant action, is necessary and indispensable to a socialist self-management society as an effort of the organized people. In every community it must be the broadest political foundation for achieving stabilization so that it is accomplished as a revolution of the organized people around the action slogan "Everyone Into Action," everyone onto the battlefield for stabilization, socialist self-management and brotherhood and unity. A front which in its action will never stop with what has been achieved, which will not dig in to preserve the past, but will always be making new inroads toward the social relations of liberated labor is necessary and indispensable.

2. There is a need--from every cell to global society--for a front of organized socialist forces with a clear and stable strategy in its action,

committed over the long run and yet active on an everyday basis, with the developed elements of tactics in carrying out the strategy. Solutions are needed from one day to the next, but it is essential that everyone do this with a clear vision of socialism on the foundations of self-management.

3. A front of the organized socialist forces is needed which will not subordinate the individual to the organization, which will not equate the organization with forums and directives, which will not equate the guidance of society with decrees and orders, which will guide the organization toward strengthening the political force and ability of the individual, and in which the front will always be in the hands of people. The method of operating by sections and the collective principle of work and responsibility are good ways of achieving that essence.

## 2. Pluralism in the Forms and Content of the Activity in the Socialist Alliance and Development of a Democratic Struggle of Opinions Within It

The question is often put as to what the tasks of the Socialist Alliance actually are. The view is that there is not a single issue or interest in society of which it can be said that it has no place for consideration in the Socialist Alliance. Our workingman has the opportunities and need to raise everything in SAWP on which he wishes to make a decision. This applies even to the most sensitive issues, which should be discussed not on the street, but in SAWP, since only there can the conversation bear fruit, since these are social issues which also interest other people.

There are many such issues. This is that pluralism of interests on the basis of self-management in which man expresses his interest, links them up with others, seeks common action and common solutions. It is not a good thing for the real problems of art, literature, education and culture as a whole to be solved by the logic of spontaneity, by the logic of the man in the street, but neither through the arbitration of forums. This is best done in a democratic, direct, well-argued and civilized dialogue in the Socialist Alliance. If such opportunities did not exist, that would mean that our system is closed toward man and toward the problems of his life and he would have nothing else but to seek some separate ways of realizing his interest. In other words, social development presupposes and necessitates a committed Socialist Alliance in which people will overcome political pluralism by realizing the pluralism of interests in self-management.

Have we already achieved that kind of breadth in SAWP? It could undoubtedly be said that in spite of considerable successes, we are still rather far from that in many respects. But we have to be aware that this is the only road that leads to further affirmation of our system and the workingman as its principal protagonist. Today man's political disposition is influenced by many things: for example, poor supply, unorganized services, the bureaucratic behavior of counter clerks, and so on. That is why we say that there is not a single issue which can be left waiting at the door of the Socialist Alliance.

A worker cannot realize his class interest solely in his own basic organization of associated labor, nor solely in the factory. The class interest has broader social importance in the context of self-management. It is expressed everywhere where socialist self-management is exercised--in the local community, in the self-managing community of interest, and elsewhere.

That is why it is a superfluous question whether it is necessary for the worker to participate in the local organization of the Socialist Alliance, whether he should attend its meetings in which decisions are being made on common needs, or it is sufficient for him to be active in the trade union alone. The question is not his attendance, but whether the worker has fought to be able to participate in making the decisions that concern that portion of income which is set aside for social services. And if his influence has been excluded, certain other interests--bureaucratic and technocratic--will inevitably prevail. I think that it is in precisely this sense that the question of linkage of activity between a factory and local community has been neglected.

People's creative and critical attitude toward the activity of all bodies, social control and responsibility of all those who hold office and exercise authority in self-management, public institutions, executive bodies and other public institutions can be strengthened only through the broadest democratic contest of opinions in the Socialist Alliance.

Social criticism has been too much underestimated, indeed even smothered, in certain communities. Democratic oversight of activity and criticism must be woven into the tissue of delegate relations. Our system has an indispensable need for democratic forms of exercising social oversight, and that is why we must guarantee in SAWP that a social climate is created for this and social responsibility tightened up. Social oversight and criticism also make a considerable contribution to the conduct of personnel policy, which has not yet been sufficiently democratized. That is, personnel policy is not being conducted only by the working people, but by various so-called coordinating bodies, informal groups and individuals, which detracts from social responsibility and makes it impossible for able rather than obedient people to make their way onto the social scene. In some communities we still have an atmosphere and relations in which the working people cannot express their opinion very freely. There is also a rather rough and indeed even vengeful attitude toward those who express opposing opinions.

When delegates are elected to the organs of SAWP it is necessary to ensure the greatest breadth, along with consistent application of the principles of personnel policy which have been adopted. No one who favors socialist self-management and our democratic social system can be isolated and alienated in political life. All of this has to be completely honored in the case, for example, of working people and citizens who are religious in their views. They are not second-class citizens, and they are not and must not be undervalued because of their view of the world.

People who are religious accept the fact that the church has been separated from the state. As a matter of fact, the right to religious freedoms awakens

their interest as believers in being active precisely within SAWP so that through the exercise of their constitutional right they would themselves prevent their sentiments from being an occasion for abuse or chicanery. In our everyday political and social life and activity the spirit of community of the working people and citizens is built, as accordingly is that of those who are religious and other working people. That consensus is based on the principles of socialist democracy, democratic tolerance and mutual respect. Our conception of the front also makes it possible for professional organizations of the clergy to operate as an integral part of SAWP and thereby helps for them to participate in social progress in their own interest and in the general interest. Democratic relations in the Socialist Alliance cannot be achieved where decision by forums is dominant or where activity on the basis of a linkup of forums through delegates is isolated and exclusive, and all this is allegedly on behalf of the workingman and citizens. Achievement of authentic delegate relations is the only real way of overcoming the shortcomings we have had up to now. In this our point of departure is the nature of self-management relations, which are based on social ownership of the means of production and on the socioeconomic status of a man who make decisions on the conditions, the means and the results of his work.

Socialist democracy is a matter for concrete and democratic decisionmaking on all the affairs of society. The Socialist Alliance of Working People is required to raise those issues in a completely specific way, in a way accessible to the working people and citizens, to express real differences and contradictions among the interests in society, to motivate people to reconcile their differences in a democratic way and to solve all problems responsibly and by agreement. In essence freedom and rights exist only insofar as the worker is able to make decisions about himself and society. That kind of democracy does not come into being automatically. It can be achieved only through a persistent, organized and consistent political struggle of the working people and citizens themselves. SAWP is more and more becoming a real social force for broad and all-inclusive democratic action.

Within the Socialist Alliance we must also fight more decisively against sectarianism using breadth and democratic relations as a force. There must be room in the Socialist Alliance, and certainly in the various organs and forums, for all people to accept the premises of self-management. That applies both to religious people and to all those who take a constructive attitude toward our society and the conception of its development, even though they may not agree with the postulates of scientific socialism and with all aspects of the policy of the League of Communists. In this area we must be still broader, still more open, still more tolerant, and that not so that we might give in to anyone, but on the contrary--so that in this front of the struggle for socialism as many people as possible would rally together and be real fighters for the new relations of socialist self-management. Just as our liberation movement was broad, so also the struggle must be broad which we are waging today for construction of the new self-managing society, for the social essence and long-range goals of stabilization, for a community of equal nationalities and ethnic minorities on the basis of self-management.

The dynamic and comprehensive development of our self-managing socialist community has imposed the need for further development and essential transformations of the Socialist Alliance. Experience is confirming more and more that society's future development toward socialism on the foundations of self-management cannot take place spontaneously and without unification and linkage in action of all the organized and creative forces within the SAWPY. At the present level of social development there is a need to guarantee that the working class and all the working people, through a struggle to achieve their historic goals and through their activity in SAWP, more and more overcome the remnants of class division and wage relations in society, and link their class interests to the interests of the nationalities and ethnic minorities and pursue them as common interests.

The Socialist Alliance should grow to become that front for linkage in action of all people committed to socialism in which workers and citizens, peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals would link up in an organized way on working class foundations and then together, as allies, regardless of differences in their material position and views of the world, establish the goals and tasks which lead to socialism on the foundations of self-management and then achieve those goals and perform those tasks. In performing its contemporary social role in the SAWPY, our working class and all the working people and citizens are at the same time giving answers to the current events in the world and encouraging the basic aspirations and essential interest of the nationalities in the struggle for national independence, economic development and social stability.

The activity of the Socialist Alliance in the context of the pluralism of interests in self-management should contribute in the following ways:

- i. so that the power of the working class is exercised in such a way that the workers truly and at every step manage income, so that all forms of alienation of power and management from the workers and of alienation of the workers from income and decisionmaking on the entirety of social reproduction are overcome, and so that the workers and their delegates (and no one in their place!) themselves eliminate the sources and causes of the generation of economic and political monopolies;
- ii. so that the relations of socialist self-management develop ever more consistently, with fewer elements of formalism and more of living content, so that the trends and practice of bureaucracy, technocracy and bureaucratic administration are combated, so as to overcome alienation in politics, pronounced decisionmaking by forums, and so on;
- iii. so that delegate relations improve more and more in the direction of overcoming the remnants of the old relations, making it impossible for power to be exercised over people, and establishing and developing the power of people (through the conclusion of accords and compacts, through collective work, through use of the variable term of office, through development of the work of the chambers of assemblies of sociopolitical communities, by thwarting manipulation of democratically elected individuals by means of the government apparatus, and so on);

iv. so that politics are socialized through achievement and respect for the pluralism of interests in self-management, through a strengthening of democratic spirit in society, through the development of humanistic relations, by reduction of political professionalism to a minimum, by stimulating mass involvement in political work, by ensuring public scrutiny of proceedings and legality, by linking collective and individual responsibility, by achieving social cohesion, and above all through the activity of the Socialist Alliance as the front of the organized socialist forces, and so on;

v. so that throughout the entire system of social organization and activity greater ability and efficiency is achieved, so that all the interests of the working people and their self-managing organizations and communities are brought face to face and are resolved through a common coordinated action, so that the decisions and conclusions arrived at by means of the delegate system are implemented throughout society, from the primary organizations and communities to bodies and agencies and organizations at the federal level;

vi. so that achievement of collective work becomes an integral part of the exercise of self-management in the opstina, of the constitutional conception of the opstina and of its socioeconomic essence, so that all the institutions and agencies in the opstina and indeed the opstina as a whole free themselves of exclusiveness and open themselves up as much as possible to society, that is, link up with all the factors and processes on which its further socioeconomic and self-management development depends;

vii. so that throughout the entire system of education and the creation of personnel comprehensive personalities are built, personalities who are not bound to positions and privileges based on position, but to work, to responsibility, and to the performance of various duties, and that in such a way that the workers are truly ruling, and the personal power of individuals is abolished.

### 3. SAWP Sections, an Expression of the Pluralism of Interests in Self-Management and of Overcoming Top-Heavy Work Through Forums

It is important to development of the Socialist Alliance that the work of sections and other forms of sociopolitical activity develop at all levels of its organization.

The sections are the principal area of the concerted action of the organized socialist forces. These are new attributes and democratic forms of activity of SAWP in which the problems and interests of the working people and their communities are discussed, proposals are presented, views are reconciled, and possible alternatives are devised for the best possible solutions. The goal and activity of the section is aimed at involvement in solving problems, not just presenting views or recording the situation. It is through the sections that the organs of SAWP operate less and less in the conventional way as separate forums, on their own, and so that they figure more and more as coordinators of democratic and organized action by protagonists in socialist self-management. Incidentally, in many examples the negative aspects of forum work are carried over into SAWP as an extension of such methods in sociopolitical organizations. In other words, the sections are not conventional

commissions or auxiliary organs of the forums, nor are they exclusive organisms, nor "mini" forums, nor an expression of unproductive holding of meetings, but wide open forms of activity in which, through democratic expression and confrontation, initiatives, suggestions and criticism are manifested which are based on socialist principles, but which also express differences in views of the way in which particular concrete goals are to be achieved. They are the "place where people come together" to reach agreement and to undertake action.

As a rule the sections are made up of delegates--which is a good thing, since relations in SAWP are based on those principles--but it is obvious that that is not enough. All interested persons who are distinguished by their progressive use, initiative, aptitude and ability for deep penetration into the essence of particular problems, a readiness to assume responsibility and to act to implement what has been agreed on should come together in them concerning specific issues. The sections are open to all proposals which are based on socialist self-management, and indeed even to diverse and opposite views in solving specific issues in the life and work of the working people. As we have already said, it is in them that the interested working people and citizens, delegates of sociopolitical organizations and of public organizations and civic associations, representatives of scientific institutions, the universities, self-managing communities, bodies of management, economic chambers and other sociopolitical and self-managing communities should come together.

It is through open and democratic debate in the sections that the differing interests are authentically expressed, brought into confrontation and reconciled, and the possibilities of social conflicts are reduced because of the breadth of the people involved and because of the resolution of the problems. It is in them that science and practice are successfully linked together, as are more narrow and broader interests, that experiences are exchanged and guidelines devised for delegates and delegations, and in them that practical problems are put in social terms. They are the common body of all interested persons--from the local community to the Federation--a place involving the work of large numbers of people, a point of support for delegates and delegations and a framework for the broadest social communication and for devising common positions. It is in them that specific solutions are prepared, and then through the activity of all the forces in SAWP they are consistently implemented in practice.

The sections should be independent in their work, differentiated to a great degree, that is, specialized, and so organized that they can be adequate to their social role, but it is not necessary that they operate as standing bodies. Work through the sections should be flexible, should be related to topics and issues arising out of life and development and should thus become important help to self-managers and delegate bodies and an important factor in the democratic convergence and unification of views concerning particular social problems. It is here that agreements are reached and free dialogues are carried on from the positions of socialism, in which public criticism and social oversight are encouraged, and a contribution made to creating a self-management public opinion that is involved in constructing policy and is at

the same time sensitive to various monopolies, abuses and other forms of non-socialist behavior.

The breadth of activity in SAWP is an important condition for development of socialist self-management democracy, freedom, creativity and responsibility. Given its social nature and its being tied to people's interests, SAWP is an expression, a part and a foundation of pluralism of interests in self-management and at the same time a negation of political pluralism. That objectively reduces the space for activity from positions opposed to socialism and opens up the way for overcoming the alienation of the working people in political life. Socialist self-management is already so strong and deeply rooted in the consciousness of our people that in practice they do not suffer any sort of vacillation and foot-dragging in achieving the self-managing aspirations of the working people by means of broad sociopolitical action of SAWP. It is especially clear that SAWP should open up still more widely the space for creators from all fields of social life, emphasize all forms of free creativity, the creation and circulation of new ideas, initiative and a responsible attitude in performance of social tasks.

The work in the sections is extremely important since this is a form for overcoming work through forums in the Socialist Alliance and an expression of its openness and breadth. The section ought not to be some kind of mini forum. People come together in it in order to discuss specific matters, to express their interests and views, to reconcile them and to pursue them through joint action, to raise joint issues in the exercise of responsibility and social oversight. That is why they should be set up flexibly, that is why they should have permanent delegates and those who are specifically delegated to a meeting of the section depending on the matter under discussion. Whenever any very significant issue is on the agenda of the delegate assembly, it must first be taken up in the appropriate section of the Socialist Alliance.

At least four categories of participants ought to come together in the section: the working people and citizens who are most interested in solving the problems which are on the agenda; then the delegates who are elected by organizations of the LC, the Federation of Trade Unions, the veterans and young people, with particular views; and then delegates from public organizations, civic associations, scientific institutions, universities, business associations and the like, and finally, delegates who have already been elected to the relevant chamber of the assembly of the relevant sociopolitical community. This can then be a truly authoritative discussion of a particular problem, not merely a discussion for the sake of discussion; that is, it could be the basis for expression and reconciliation of interests and a democratic way of adopting decisions in delegate assemblies. In the work of the sections, which should be the basis for activity of SAWP, we must develop the broadest possible room for democratic relations, a contest of opinions, expressions of creativity, and for documented social criticism, criticism which points to action and to solutions.

Recently the gap between the need for further advancement of delegate relations and commitment of SAWP, and indeed of all other sociopolitical organizations in the delegate system has been more and more pronounced. We can no

longer just reiterate that SAWP is not acting in the right way in the political system and delegate relations, but it is also necessary and possible to suggest several lines of activity to change that situation for the better. The point of departure ought to be the obligation of all delegations and delegates within SAWP to truly express the commitments of their constituency and their activity and to equip themselves for reaching understanding toward the end of successful formulation and implementation of views within the front itself which have been jointly agreed on. And we can improve the activity of SAWP in delegate relations and in the political system as follows:

- i. through further development of the sociopolitical chambers in accordance with the constitutional conception and through authentic examination, agreement and decisionmaking on a delegate basis;
- ii. through active participation of SAWP delegates in social councils already in operation and through an effort for them to be formed as a part of the assembly system and the delegate relationship for other areas;
- iii. through SAWP participation in the preparatory stages of procedure leading to accords and compacts so as to guarantee their self-management content;
- iv. through examination of the basic issues on which the delegates are to decide in SAWP sections for the purpose of the most integral examination of those problems;
- v. through participation in programming the work of the assembly chambers;
- vi. through expansion of the work of delegate clubs, which might also be formed for delegates in self-managing communities of interest so as to initiate appropriate debates within them;
- vii. through improvement of the information system, especially in the sense of the delegates receiving the most comprehensive and specific material for decisionmaking and of talking about them in SAWP sections and in delegate clubs;
- viii. by linking delegations and delegates by means of conferences and in other ways.

The essential purport of all these and other forms of activity which should be developed in the political system lies in developing constant democratic communication with the social base and in opening up all the institutions of the political system to all the organized and creative forces of society. In this way sociopolitical and other organizations become a real instrument guaranteeing full influence of the progressive social forces, headed by the LCY, on the masses, as well as the permanent influence of the masses on everything taking place in society and being decided on. In other words, at all levels of social decisionmaking the need is becoming ever more pronounced for all the organized political forces and all the creative potential of society to be included in an organized way in the work of self-management and delegate bodies in the framework of the Socialist Alliance.

YUGOSLAVIA

DISCUSSION OF LCY DOMINANCE IN SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7-8 Apr 84 p 5

[Article by Slobodan Vukmirovic and Ivan Torov: "Static on All the Communications Lines"]

[Text] When even today, in the spring of 1984, the critical observations made by Tito, Kardelj and Vlahovic about the performance/nonperformance of the SAWP's constitutional and political role in society are quoted, and they sound very up-to-date, those assessments which were uttered some 10 years or so ago, if not a bit more, this can only mean one thing: the Socialist Alliance, both as the front of the organized socialist forces and also as an organization per se, has taken an intolerably long time equipping itself to perform that role.

The consequences? There are many. Both for the essential socialist democratization of relations in society, for self-management, and especially for the functioning of the delegate assembly system. In large part that lag incorporates the causes of that rather dramatic gap between what has been prescribed and what actually exists in our political system as a whole.

All of this makes the envisaged discussion at the next meeting of the SAWP Federal Conference next Thursday "unique," since the topic on the agenda is precisely the urgent issues of performance of the constitutional role of the Socialist Alliance. That meeting is being preceded by thorough "inventories" of the deficiencies which have been noted in the operation of the front.

In the introductory address which Mitja Ribicic presented in a scientific gathering of SAWP on development of a socialist self-managing society he reminded us how old and how good were certain assessments and anticipations concerning the role of the Socialist Alliance in society:

"In connection with the 1962 Constitution Kardelj ... seems to have been fighting without much success against underestimation of the role of the Socialist Alliance and for participation of all citizens in it if they take the line of socialism, regardless of ideological and other differences, for a free contest of opinions on a general platform of socialism. He was fighting for the Socialist Alliance as a parliament of, by and for all the people [svenarodni parlament] which is in permanent session."

To what degree does this "parliament of, by and for all the people" operate today, and does it exist at all? What are the answers on this that we can expect at the upcoming SAWPY Federal Conference?

#### Far From the "Parliament of, by and for All the People"

The discussions today within the framework of the front itself, from the local organizations to the Federation, at scientific meetings and theoretical papers of political scientists and sociologists indicate a general assessment that is almost unanimous: with what has been done to date we have not come much closer to the existence of a "parliament" of that kind. The Socialist Alliance has still not become strong as an organization of the masses, of mass initiative, as the broadest front of self-management in society.

There have been quite frequent warnings of precisely the opposite. "The Socialist Alliance is underestimated, it operates too much through forums, it is sectarian, it is subject to tendencies of parallelism, and it has no influence," Tomislav Jantol said at the scientific meeting already mentioned. Speaking about the sections as a form through which the front operates--which was expected to be an essential change of direction in the content and mode of operation of the Socialist Alliance, Aleksandar Glickov is categorical: that opportunity has not been taken advantage of up to now. "In the section in which I work the content is objectively dry.... The members in attendance have been decimated by the first intermission. And that is one of the questions we must answer. Either those people are not interested or the sections have been wrongly made up."

It is not only in the sections that it is that way. Dr Rados Smiljkovic warns in rather dramatic fashion that there are fewer and fewer of these mass initiatives, that there are also fewer and fewer working people and citizens in political and other gatherings in local communities, which, he says, ought to be cause for alarm to all of us. Those facts, Smiljkovic observes, could be a unique indicator of unfavorable developments in society.

And all of this is happening precisely at a time when we need exactly that kind of large-scale involvement and mobilization in finding ways out of the social and economic crisis, and above all to achieve the goals and perform the tasks of the Stabilization Program. The times demand a rapid and vigorous change of direction as to the extent to which the Socialist Alliance performs its constitutional role. Otherwise other "alternative" searches for a way out of the crisis would impose themselves ever more vociferously, those who are alien to the kind of society we have and who would lead toward a deeper bureaucratization of society and of the subjective forces from whom that change of direction is expected.

In that context it is untenable for the meetings of the Socialist Alliance at all levels (except to some extent in local organizations in rural areas, which more often manage to give answers to certain specific problems in the life of their community) are like unstructured talkfests, in the phrase which Dr Dusan Dragosavac once used.

If a way out is to be found from that established bad practice, it is, of course, evident that those discussions in the front--be they as democratic and open as you like--must cease to be an end in themselves, they must always be a function of the search for a synthesis of freely expressed interests. "We accept the fact that we have differing interests," says Dr Ivan Mecanovic, "but often we avoid accepting that the result of the pluralism of interests in self-management must be a unified action. This pluralism is always an agreement on something which we can do jointly. Otherwise this is of little benefit to the development of society."

#### Differences Should Not Be Imagined

One of the basic weaknesses in the activity of the Socialist Alliance has precisely been the "idleness" of its discussions, its inability to follow them up with broad social action. It is somewhere here that one should seek the causes of the bureaucratization and governmentalization we have had so much of. After all, it is an old truth that we have just as much government as the leading political forces allow. We can scold that state as much as we like, but we will achieve nothing with that scolding if SAWP, with all the frontal forces which it brings together, leaves ample room for it to "operate."

Perhaps the conclusion of agreements and decisionmaking by delegates in the Federation can be taken as a good example. It is worth quoting a recent assessment of Hamdija Pozderac:

"We should have reached an agreement on how to build in the subjective factor at the federal level, above all the Socialist Alliance, so that it has a direct impact on formation of the Yugoslav interest. Otherwise the SFRY Assembly is a voting machine, the delegates will raise their hands when they are supposed to, pass a law or some other decision, but they will be created, those laws and decisions, in other structures in which compromises or decisions will be made as a function of the balance of power in the country. And we can all stand up and shout: Transfer rights to the Assembly, transfer power to the Assembly, but we cannot do that until we guarantee it through the influence of the subjective forces at the federal level."

An interesting observation was made by Dr Djordji Gaca: "Kardelj wanted the executive and administrative officeholders at the federal level to work independently of orders and guidelines from the republics and provinces from which they come. He even expressed the position that they must be federal officeholders who express the original or constitutionally established interests of the Federation. I do not believe that it is governmentalism in the least to favor application of that principle and that precept also in the work of sociopolitical organizations operating at the federal level. Then the Socialist Alliance would also be able to participate much more vigorously and effectively, especially in resolving crisis situations."

In practice up to now, mostly at precisely the federal level, when agreements are being worked out, there has been a lack of that search for the optimum synthesis of objective differences. We have been too concerned with differences, and less concerned with what we have in common. "Differences should

not be imagined; we must not always be looking for them in order to affirm them"; this thought of Aleksandar Grlickov was recorded in the newsman's notes of one of the meetings of the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the SAWPY. "We have to seek what those classes, ethnic minorities and nationalities have in common. Otherwise our work becomes fatiguing, and there are no political benefits whatsoever."

It does not often happen that the absence of the Socialist Alliance is noticeable only in decisionmaking by the delegates. Its constitutional role and practice are profoundly at odds with one another with respect to many other important social relations as well. For instance, in the shaping and conduct of personnel policy or in the electoral system. In just the last 3 months these topics have been remarked on in statements by Mitja Ribicic, Cedo Grbic, Rade Galeb and a dozen other distinguished holders of political office.

Thus Cedo Grbic points out that SAWP ought to have a crucial role in personnel policy. However, he says, we all know that the Socialist Alliance is bypassed and that the old lines, the bureaucratic-technocratic lines are still followed in the selection of personnel. "This policy has been taken over by semilegal coordinating groups and commissions which have practically eliminated the influence of the public and of the progressive forces in society on the selection of personnel." Something similar is also happening when it comes to elections. "The Socialist Alliance," Tomislav Jantol says, "is first and foremost their technical organizer, not the political organizer."

Nor has progress been much greater in implementing the well-known position that SAWP should "become" a mass organization of socialist political consciousness and thought. That deficiency is especially evident today when--as Grlickov puts it--"a gigantic contest of opinions is taking place in our society in the sphere of ideological and political life." Of course, if that struggle is taking place without the organized socialist forces being involved, then one can hardly expect them to take control of it.

"When we look at those democratic dialogues and statements," says Cedo Grbic, "then we see that there is a very widespread publication of books and articles in which individuals or groups speak out freely, even in an oppositionist fashion. However, there is no dialogue on those topics, no confrontation within organizations of the socialist Alliance. That means that some sort of democracy is developing, but outside the currents of the organized social forces."

If a democratic atmosphere had been created within the Socialist Alliance itself, it is certain that certain undesirable manifestations would not have occurred in society, and the vacuum would not have been created in which there is room even for hostile forces. Or that would have been possible to a much lesser degree. The example of Kosovo is significant, in the opinion of Dr Rados Smiljkovic.

"The Socialist Alliance, for example, was not the first organization to react to the semi-illegal and outright illegal activity of the Irredenta. It

reacted after the fact. Why doesn't it emerge as a movement? Why does it not react as a movement--as after an earthquake or a flood, for example--even when political earthquakes occur?"

#### Democratic Decor for the League of Communists

When answers are sought as to why all this is happening to our front in practice, usually--both with good reason and otherwise--always leads to the question of relations within the front, and above all between the Socialist Alliance and the League of Communists. In the discussions of this to date it seems the least essential thing has been what was emphasized here and there: that the basic problem of the Socialist Alliance is that there are not enough members of the League of Communists in its meetings and actions. In other words, according to this conception, everything would have been just fine if party members had been active in SAWP, at least to the extent to which they are active in their own party organization. If that argument were accurate--and experience indicates the contrary--that members of the LC are almost exclusively involved in all the forms of activity of the front, "solving the problem" would only deepen further the rather sectarian structure of the Socialist Alliance that already exists.

The basic problem is probably in the League of Communists itself, that is, in that dialectical conditionality of simultaneous democratization--in the party and in the Socialist Alliance--which Dr Aleksandar Glickov recently commented on in the form of a question:

"Because of its inclination toward integration with the government, to what extent does the League of Communists hinder the development, place and role of the Socialist Alliance and push it into the position of a transmission belt whereby the LCY operates over and above it? At the same time there is a question of how much SAWP, with its personnel makeup, mode of operation and political activity is making it more difficult for the League of Communists to extricate itself more rapidly from the leading role and gradually become truly the leading political force which operates through the strength derived from the plausibility of its ideas and arguments."

In many areas of our political system the Socialist Alliance is still "mother-balled" in its function as a transmission belt of the League of Communists. Parallel to that are the outlooks which underestimate the role of SAWP, reducing it to involvement with petty problems, while the "more important ones" are reserved for the League of Communists. Tendencies of this kind are especially evident at the level of opstina organizations of the League of Communists and SAWP, in those well-known opstina statisms which do not hesitate to reduce the Socialist Alliance to democratic decor of actions behind which stand the LC and its forums. Essential criticism of such tendencies is contained in the words of Mitja Ribicic, when he says that a belittling attitude on the part of the LC toward the role and function of SAWP is not an organizational or personnel question, but a political and strategic question of the "understanding or failure to understand the role of the LC relative to the alliance of the working class with all strata of socialist society."

The domestication of a kind of sectarianism within the Socialist Alliance is actually not negligible (on the contrary). This is indicated by the truly disturbing data to the effect that in the bodies of leadership of SAWP from the opstina to the Federation the members are predominantly, in some places almost exclusively, members of the League of Communists, which is not, of course, "evidence of the breadth of SAWP." In this connection Svetozar Skaric goes further in saying that for the party in power--which in practice is the way the League of Communists often behaves--it is natural to have as many members of the LC as possible in positions within the Socialist Alliance. But it is strange that this has "passed" for a long time even though it is not in the interest of the Socialist Alliance for these to be only party members, and dissatisfaction with this should have begun long ago.

We will not enumerate examples (there really are too many of them), but the fact is that people with a party card are elected almost exclusively to positions of any distinction at all in society, at all levels.

There really is no need to wonder who is "more to blame" for that situation and more responsible for changing it: the party or the Socialist Alliance. It is a fact, however, that even in the present situation the Socialist Alliance could itself do much more in that respect. Perhaps it should take as its point of departure the suggestion made by Dr Glickov to the effect that that breakthrough could begin to be made by establishing the goal and the deadline by which at least one-third of the members of all the forums of SAWP would be activists who are not members of the League of Communists.

[Box, Columns 2 and 3]

Paternalism, Partnership ... [Statement made by Mitja Ribicic in the scientific meeting on the constitutional position of SAWP]

It seems that in the League of Communists a rather strong stratum has been created of communists, of communist-managers, who follow more the course of financial, economic and day-to-day calculations than the course of socioeconomic and political relations. They are interested in accounts and balance sheets rather than people and working and living conditions. Because of its ties to the technobureaucratic structure in the economy and society, and probably also because of its privileged social position, that stratum cannot and objectively will not be at the head of those progressive working masses which are seeking full participation in the domain of expanded and social reproduction.

It suits party members of this kind for bodies of leadership to operate as closed forums, it suits them to be on the course of investment policy and day-to-day pragmatic economic policy, the policy of the executive bodies of the communes, the republics and the Federation. Bodies of leadership of this kind within the League of Communists are communicating with the people and the working class through short and scanty reports from their numerous closed meetings--and the Socialist Alliance of Working People serves them as a facade for democratization of party decisions. This kind of paternalism of the League of Communists toward the other social forces generates demand for

partnership of the other sociopolitical organizations, for which there would not otherwise be a real social need.

If our socialist front, the front of the forces of progressive and socialist-oriented people, has not been established and invigorated in the direction of further democratization and humanization of social relations, in the direction of a sound development of the political system of socialist self-management--then other conservative forces will thrust themselves into the empty space, a platform will be established of antisocialist and antiself-management currents, with pressures for the multiparty system, for ethnic hegemonism and for separatism. It is then that the defenders of a social or group ownership relation and of technocratic liberalism make themselves heard. A conservative bloc of associated rightwing and leftwing radical currents are today operating with greater intensity after that fashion.

We cannot effectively fight that assault solely by administrative means and the measures of the government and the topics and prohibitions stressed by bodies of leadership in the party. There is a need to invigorate Kardelj's sections in the Socialist Alliance and the social councils in the delegate system, through which it is possible to overcome differences more effectively, to depoliticize problems and to thwart tendencies toward political pluralism. If there is a need to say No!, and often this does need to be done very decisively, then let this be done in our society by the working people themselves. They are well aware of this--but they need linkage with one another if they are to be well enough organized on the platform of socialist self-management to be strong enough so that their voice is to be heard in the established centers of technobureaucratic power or in the quasi-democratic groupings of those who represent bourgeois consciousness.

[Box, Columns 4 and 5]

#### Sectarianism in Figures

"Statistical" figures on the representation of members and nonmembers of the LC speak most persuasively to the effect that the often mentioned sectarian attitude in personnel policy in the Socialist Alliance and especially in its restricted bodies of leadership is not an empty slogan. The figures are taken from an analysis of the performance of constitutional functions by SAWP which was prepared in the Federal Conference of the SAWPY. Figures are lacking only for Croatia and Slovenia.

We will run down the republics and provinces in order:

Bosnia-Hercegovina: in the republic conference 234 of 248 members are LCY members, in the Presidium of the SAWP Republic Conference which has 31 members, all of 30 are in the party. The various operational forms of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Conference of SAWP have 516 members, who include 510 members of the LC. Opstina conferences of SAWP have a total of 6,763 members, and here we find the highest number of nonmembers of the party--1,836. In the presidium of opstina conferences of SAWP, which in all have 1,749 members, there are 1,564 members of the LC.

Montenegro: the republic conference has 113 members, among whom 110 are members of the LCY. In the Presidium of the SAWP Republic Conference all the members (27) are also members of the party.

Macedonia: of the 247 members of the Republic Conference of SAWP 225 have party cards. At the same time all the members (31) of the presidium of the republic conference are also party members, and in the organizational forms all of 760 out of 783 are members of the League of Communists.

Serbia: the republic conference has 307 members, among whom only 13 are not in the League of Communists. In the presidium, which numbers 33, only 1 member does not have a party card. In opstina conferences of SAWP, with 11,213 members, there are 8,414 members of the League of Communists.

Kosovo: only three of the 156 members of the provincial conference are not members of the party, while in the presidium (26 members) all have a party card. In the organizational forms of the Kosovo Provincial Conference of SAWP, which have 431 members, 412 are in the League of Communists.

Vojvodina: in the Vojvodina Provincial Conference of SAWP the ratio is somewhat more favorable--all of 26 of the 201 members are not in the League of Communists, but then in the presidium of the provincial conference (25 members) there is only 1 member who does not have a red card. In the opstina conferences there are 3,514 members, of whom 2,674 are in the LCY; in presidiums of opstina conferences of SAWP there are 809 members, and 751 of them are members of the League of Communists.

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